

ARAB DRESS: From the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times, Revised Second Edition

Yedida Kalfon Stillman

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VOLUME 2



ARAB DRESS

A SHORT HISTORY

From the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times

BY

YEDIDA KALFON STILLMAN

AND

EDITED BY

NORMAN A. STILLMAN

REVISED SECOND EDITION



BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON
2003

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

First edition 2000
Revised Second Edition 2003

Cover photograph: Souk el-Grana in the Hara. Tunis early 20th century
(Photo: Courtesy Bernard Allali, Paris).

Cover design: TopicA (Antoinette Hanekuyk)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Stillman, Yedida Kalfon, 1946-1998.

Arab dress : from the dawn of Islam to modern times / by Yedida Kalfon
Stillman ; and edited by Norman A. Stillman.

p. cm. — (Themes in Islamic studies, ISSN 1389-823X ; v. 2)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 9004113738 (cloth : alk. paper)

1. Arabs—Costume—History 2. Costume—Arab countries—History.

I. Stillman, A., 1945-. II. Title. III. Series.

GT1380 .S75 2000

391'.089'927—dc21

00-027454

CIP

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Stillman, Yedida K.:

Arab dress : from the dawn of Islam to modern times / by Yedida Kalfon
Stillman. And ed. by Norman A. Stillman. - Leiden ; Boston ; Köln :
Brill, 2000

(Themes in Islamic studies : Vol 2)

ISBN 90-04-11373-8

ISSN 1389-823X

ISBN 90 04 13593 6

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

to
Hillel Fradkin

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

About the Author

Yedida Kalfon Stillman died peacefully at home surrounded by her family at the age of fifty-one on February 22, 1998 after a valiant ten-month struggle against a rare form of gastric cancer. At the time of her death, she was professor of history, Near Eastern languages, and women's studies at the University of Oklahoma. She was the world's acknowledged expert on the history of the clothing of the Arab world, both Muslim and Jewish, from medieval to modern times.

Born in the mellah of Fez, Morocco, she went to Israel at the age of five, living with her large family for two years in a squalid tent camp. But what she recalled most from that time were the flowers that her father and her sister would draw on their tent and plant outside in front of it, both to beautify their world and to help guide her home when she got lost among the thousands of identical tents in the sprawling camp. But it was not the extremes of heat and cold nor the dust in summer and mud in winter in that tent city that shaped her. Rather it was the flowers that her father planted in the dust and mud. She never looked back on that time as one of poverty and deprivation, but rather she recalled her family's strength, creativity and goodness. And she maintained that positive outlook throughout her life to the very end.

She grew up in the overcrowded prefabricated housing of the Katamonim section of Jerusalem, a neighborhood that was overwhelmingly populated by Jews from Arab countries. The years of her childhood and adolescence were a time in which there was a great deal of social prejudice against Oriental Jews in general and Moroccans in particular. But again, even though she experienced the sting of prejudice many times, it never embittered her, and she was always grateful for having grown up in a free country and for having received an excellent education at the Alliance Israélite Universelle schools and the Hebrew University.

It was already in her high school years that she became interested

in the folklore and material culture of North Africa and the Middle East. And when she entered the Hebrew University, she did her undergraduate studies in the Department of Folklore and became an assistant to her first mentor Dov Noy, with whom she remained a close friend all her life. During her undergraduate years, she did extensive field work for the Israel Folklore Society which she could conduct in Maghrebi and Levantine Colloquial Arabic, Hebrew and French. She also worked in the Israel Folklore Archives, and she was acknowledged in several of Dov Noy's books. At this time too, she gained invaluable experience in the study of material culture working in the Ethnography Department of the Israel Museum. It was there that she and I met in the summer of 1966. She walked into the room with two books that I later would come to know well, Eudel's *Dictionnaire des bijoux de l'Afrique du Nord: Maroc, Algérie, Tunisie, Tripolitaine* and Besancenot's *Bijoux arabes et berbères du Maroc*. It was love at first sight, and we married exactly one year later.

Even though she was still a semester short of finishing her B.A., she was admitted to the graduate school of the University of Pennsylvania, where she earned her M.A. in folklore and folklife in 1968 and completed her doctorate in Oriental studies in 1972 with the great S. D. Goitein (the only woman ever to do a Ph.D. with him) on female attire in medieval Egypt, based on the the trousseau lists from the Cairo Geniza and Arabic manuscripts and artistic sources in the museums of Europe, Egypt, and Israel. She was for a year also a guest student at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University where she studied Islamic art with Richard Ettinghausen, her co-adviser on the dissertation.

Even before obtaining her first academic position at the State University of New York at Binghamton, she was engaged by the Museum of International Folk Art and International Folk Art Foundation of Santa Fe, New Mexico, to prepare a major study on its collection of Palestinian costume and jewelry and was sent to Jordan and Israel to purchase items that would fill in the interstices in the museum's already extensive collection. Her work resulted in a major exhibition and her first book, which was subvented by the National Endowment for the Arts. In subsequent years, she held guest curatorial and consulting positions at the Smithsonian Institution, the Seawall Gallery in Houston, the Eastman Gallery in Rochester, the Jew-

ish Museum in New York, the Joods Historisch Museum in Amsterdam, the Jewish Museum of Greece, the Museum of the Diaspora in Tel Aviv, and many others.

She served on the boards of several international organizations and learned societies including the International Society for Judeo-Arabic Studies and the Centre de Recherche sur les Juifs du Maroc. Over the years she was highly successful at obtaining grants for her research from such agencies and foundations as the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Littauer Foundation, the American Philosophical Society, the American Research Center in Egypt, the Institute of Turkish Studies, the Ben-Zvi Institute, and the Bradley Foundation, which for the last eight years of her life was the principal ongoing supporter of her work on Middle Eastern and North African costume history. In 1994-1995, she was senior Fulbright Research Scholar at Muhammad V University in Rabat.

In addition to five published books (two in collaboration with her husband), she was the author of numerous scholarly articles, encyclopedia entries (including the monographic "Libās" in the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*), journalistic articles and reviews in several languages. Two major books were in progress at the time of her death—this short history of Arab dress and an encyclopedic dictionary of Arab clothing.

Her contribution as a teacher was no less important than her scholarship. In her twenty-three years at Binghamton, she took a Hebrew language program that had scarcely a score of students and developed it into one with well over a hundred. In 1978, she was honored with the SUNY Chancellor's Award for Excellence in Teaching. Many of her students, who always knew her simply as Yedida, became lifelong friends.¹ She had similar success with her teaching at the University of Oklahoma, doubling the size of her classes for each of two consecutive years. Even during her illness, she continued to teach her classes whenever she could. In addition to teaching, mentoring younger researchers was a sacred task for her. On the day before she died, despite her weakness, she insisted on helping a young doctoral candidate in Canada who had turned to her for help in

¹ For a moving personal tribute by one of her former students, see *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 33:1 (1999), pp. 150-151.

identifying a puzzling marriage belt of unknown provenience. She did in fact identify the unusual item from the detailed photographs that she had been sent and in a whisper dictated her reply to me for the young scholar.

In accordance with her wishes, she was buried in the Judean Hills outside Jerusalem. In the year and a half since her death, memorial symposia, colloquia, and panels have been held in her honor in the United States, France, Morocco, and Israel.

The Editor's Task

The manuscript for this book was more than three quarters finished at the time of Yedida's death. Most of the chapters were fairly complete. One chapter (Seven) was only half finished, but with an extensive outline for the part that remained to be done. As with any work done over several years, there were marginal notes with references and quotations to be added or to be checked, manuscript illuminations to be reexamined, and various illustrations to be considered for inclusion. Although costume history is not one of my areas of specialization, I was always intimately familiar with Yedida's work, as she was with mine. There was no individual project that was not thoroughly discussed, commented upon, and critiqued by one of us for the other. And in fact, we had done some collaborative work in this field together.

Obviously, preparing this book for publication has been a bittersweet task. On the one hand, it has given me the feeling that I am still working with Yedida in closest partnership as we had worked together through thirty years of blissful marriage and professional collaboration. While on the other hand, it is one more constant reminder of her absence and the void that it has created in my life and the lives of all who loved and cherished her.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Since authors frequently leave the front matter of a book, including the acknowledgments, to the very end, there was no draft to be found with the manuscript of this book after Yedida's death. And although I believe I know many of the people and institutions that she would have wished to thank, I cannot be certain that I know all of them. Her correspondence was voluminous, and even going through her many files of letters, I am sure that I have not seen everything. If, therefore, there are any omissions here, it is I who am totally, albeit unintentionally, at fault. Yedida was always extremely punctilious in thanking those who had been of assistance, even in the smallest way, to her in her work.

Without any doubt, the profoundest thanks go first and foremost to the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, which for the past decade has been unfailingly generous in its support of Yedida's work on the historical study of Arab attire. The Bradley Foundation was not only kind enough to allow me, as Yedida's colleague and literary heir, to make use of what remained of the considerable funds that it had already allocated for this book and for the much larger historical dictionary of Arab clothing, which I also intend to bring to publication for her, but it generously provided me with additional funding as a further extension of the grant.

Other research grants that helped fund Yedida's study of textiles and costumes were provided by: the Fulbright Foundation in Washington, D. C., the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation in New York, the American Research Center in Egypt, the American Institute for Turkish Studies, the American Philosophical Society, the Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem, and the Jerusalem Center for Anthropology.

Our deepest gratitude also goes to the publisher Koninklijke Brill of Leiden. It was Brill that first proposed that Yedida write a work to replace Reinhart Dozy's classic, but thoroughly outdated *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms de vêtements chez les Arabes* (1835). Over the years, we have had the closest relation with Brill on this and other projects and became friends with a number of its editors. The continuous encour-

agement and support that we both received on this and other projects has been deeply gratifying. One could not ask for a better working relationship with a publisher, and it has truly been a privilege working with all of the Brill staff.

Research on the history of Arab and Islamic attire required work in many libraries and museums, and institutes for the study of textiles and costumes around the world. Thanks go to the personnel at the British Museum in London, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Musée de l'Homme in Paris and its Curator for the Middle Eastern and North African Section Dr. Dominique Champault, the staff of the Oriental Manuscripts Section of the University of Leiden, the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, the Abegg Stiftung in Zurich and its director Dr. Karel Otavsky, the Musée de la Ville de Genève in Geneva, the Vatican Library in Rome, the Museums of Coptic and Islamic Art in Cairo, the Ethnography Department and Library staff at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, particularly to her friends and colleagues there Chaya Benjamin and Carmela Teichman, and the L. A. Mayer Memorial Museum in Jerusalem, the Jāhilī and Early Islamic Arab Poetry Concordance Project of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem, and especially to Dr. Avraham David of the Hebrew Manuscript Section, the Metropolitan Museum in New York, the Museum of International Folk Art in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and its now emerita director Dr. Yvonne Lange, the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C., the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, l'Université Mohamed V in Rabat where she was very much adopted by our good friend and colleague Professor Majid Zeggaf, the Qasbat al-Widāya Musée des Costumes Populaires du Maroc in Rabat, le Musée des Arts Populaires in Tetouan, the Topkapu Museum in Istanbul, the Jewish Museum of Greece and its then director Dr. Nikos Stavroulakis, the Joods Historisch Museum of Amsterdam and its entire staff, in particular Judith Belinfante, Julie-Marthe Cohen, Hetty Berg, Steven Hartog, and Daniel Bouw. The Interlibrary Loan staffs of Binghamton University and the University of Oklahoma cheerfully processed hundreds—perhaps over a thousand or more—requests for books and articles needed for this project which were not easily available to us.

I could not pretend to know all of the many individuals who had

given assistance and advice to Yedida over the years that she worked on this project. However, among those who were of particular help in recent years, particular thanks must go to Professor Paula Sanders of Rice University, a dear friend and colleague, who collaborated with Yedida on the article “*Tirāz*” for the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, and who kindly put at my disposal her own extensive notes on references on garments and textiles in Arabic and particularly Fatimid sources. Words fail to express the gratitude that I personally feel for her acts of kindness during Yedida’s illness. Naomi’s blessing to her two daughters-in-law in Ruth I:8 comes closest to expressing it.

Over many years Dr. Marilyn Jenkins-Madina of the Islamic Department of the Metropolitan Museum in New York had often provided Yedida materials related to her project and was kind enough to give me advice when needed. Dr. Louise Mackey has also over many years been a source of valuable information and advice when she was first at the Textile Museum in Washington, D. C., and later at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. Dr. Nancy Micklewright of the University of British Columbia, who collaborated with Yedida on an important mise au point of Islamic costume research, had over the years been Yedida’s expert consultant on Ottoman Turkish clothing. Dr. Patricia Baker of London has also been a colleague with whom Yedida consulted on matters of costume history. Dr. Elisabetha Duda of the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Vienna gave her assistance and counsel. Professor Albert Arazi of the Hebrew University also provided assistance at one stage.

I know that Professor Michael Cook of Princeton University kindly sent Yedida several references to material that she was seeking. Professor Hans Jansen of the University of Leiden also provided some important photographs of medieval Egyptian garments, as did Dr. Georgette Cournu of Lyon.

Over the course of many years, Professor Bernard Lewis of the Institute for Advanced Study and Princeton University emeritus professor encouraged Yedida in her work. He was, I believe, along with me one of the first people to strongly urge her to write a history of Arab attire after the appearance of her monographic article “*Libās*” in the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*.

Yedida had many research assistants over the years of work on this project who held the title of Bradley fellows, many of whose names

I cannot recall or easily find. One, however, that I know she definitely would have mentioned, because he certainly was academically the best trained and the most helpful was Josef Meri, who recently received his doctorate in Islamic Studies at Oxford.

Several people deserve my personal thanks for their assistance to me in the year and a half following Yedida's death that I had been working on completing the manuscript. These include M. Michel Garel of the Oriental Manuscript Section of the Bibliothèque Nationale. He went out of his way to give me every personal assistance and to show the greatest personal kindness when I explained to him the nature of my work checking manuscript illuminations that Yedida wanted rechecked.

I owe a deep dept of gratitude to Yedida's and my secretary, Ms. Jan Rauh, who in the last two months leading up to finally sending off the manuscript to the publisher, worked long hours polishing the format and layout, proofreading, even drawing the sketches for the figures used in this book. My own research assistant John Borrego worked long and hard to put the bibliography together from the references in the footnotes. He also helped look up incomplete publication data, find inconsistencies in the use of abbreviations and citation form. He too provided another pair of eyes for proofreading the text. Forrest Bacigalupi shot one of the photographs needed for the plates on short notice at the last minute.

Our son Enan also pitched in and made up the list of illuminated manuscripts and Geniza documents by extrapolating them out of the many footnotes. No words of acknowledgment can adequately express Yedida's and my profound gratitude and love for the tenderness, love, and support that he and our daughter Mia provided us throughout her illness. In spite of our attempts to urge them to remain in school and finish their degrees, both insisted on withdrawing from their studies for a year to be by our side. They, of course, were right, not we. Neither of us could have done without them.

N. A. S.
August 1999

LIST OF PLATES

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26. Abū Zayd in short robe with unusual mid-calf length straight *sirwāl* of some soft fabric with irregular hems, and on his feet pointed soft leather shoes rolled down just above the ankles. On his head is a *qalansuwa ṭawīla* cut to curve around the side of the face and extending down the back of the neck. Perhaps this outfit reflects the garb of the *futuwwa* or the *'ayyārūn* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 3929, folio 69).

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29. Elegant woman depicted in a 13th-century *Maqāmāt* manuscript.

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her head and shoulders to form a wimple a large dark *shutfa* held in place with a dark 'iṣāba-headband. The second photograph shows a Jewish couple in Jerusalem. The woman is wearing a dark green *fustan*-dress over which is a white cashmere *salṭa*-jacket, and on her head is a turban consisting of a bonnet (called *fotoz* by Jews, *khotoz* by Turks) around which printed so-called *yamāni* kerchiefs are wound with a chain of pearls hanging above the bridge of the nose and going around each cheek to create a minimalist *burqu'* and over the entire headress a large white muslin head shawl pinned beneath the chin and covering most of the upper torso. The man wears a white cashmere *jubba* over a striped *antārī* which is cinched with a large scarf. Around his neck is a cashmere *shāl* with a palmette border carefully draped to crisscross over his chest, and on his head a turban consisting of a *kavese*-hat with a wrapping cloth of white muslin with wavy stripes. The third picture shows a Tripolitanian merchant in a white *farajīyya* (or *durrā'a*) cinched with a white *hizām* above which is a narrow belt for his decorative dagger, and on his head a *shadda*-turban. (From: Hamdy Bey and M. de Launay, *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, Constantinople, 1873, Pls. XXV, XXXVI, and XLII).

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A NOTE ON STYLE

Non-English words are always explained or translated at their first occurrence and are italicized throughout. The transcription of Arabic names and words follows the system employed in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, new edition, with the usual exception made by most English-speaking Arabists of *j* instead of *dj* to represent the letter *djim* and *q* instead of *k* to represent *qāf*. Place names and the names of dynasties are given in their familiar English forms and without diacriticals.

Persian, Hebrew, and Aramaic words have been transcribed according to a simple, standardized system that is on the whole compatible with the Arabic transcription. Turkish proper names and words are given in their Arabic form.

In the historical chapters dates and centuries are generally given first according to the Gregorian reckoning and followed after a slash (/) with the Hijra equivalent.

INTRODUCTION

Clothing constitutes a cultural statement. It is a manifestation of culture, no less than art, architecture, literature, and music. Like all cultural phenomena, it communicates a great deal of information both on the physical and symbolic level about the society in which it is found. Fashions, or modes of dress, reflect not only the aesthetics of a particular society (what might be called the “adornment factor”), but also its social mores and values (the “modesty/immodesty factor,” or “reveal/conceal factor”). Furthermore, dress is often a clear economic indicator. The fabric, quality of cut, and ornamentation of a garment are commonly badges of socioeconomic status. More subtly and often symbolically, clothing reflects religious and political norms. In Islamic society, clothing has historically been intimately connected with notions of purity and impurity (*tahāra* and *najas*), ritual behavior (*sunna*), and the differentiation of the believer from the unbeliever (*ghiyār*), as well as the separation of the genders (*hijāb*). Thus, within Islamic society clothing constitutes a cultural complex, or what Roland Barthes has dubbed a “vestimentary system.”¹

The study of clothing belongs to the larger field of socio-historical studies subsumed under the rubric of “material culture” (*materielle Kultur* or *Sachkultur* in German and *culture matérielle* in French, the two languages in which much of the leading work in this field has been done).² Although the field of material culture is well developed for Classical Antiquity and for the European Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and modern times, it is less so for the Islamic world (including the Arab lands), particularly for the premodern period. Even the ethnographic studies of contemporary Middle Eastern and North African traditional dress are meager, with the most extensive work having been done on the Maghreb during the colonial period, and these latter studies are often primarily descriptive rather than analyt-

¹ Roland Barthes, “Histoire et sociologie du vêtement: quelques observations méthodologiques.” *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 3 (1957).

² Much of the work in English on material culture until relatively recently has been in the areas of archaeology, anthropology, ethnology, and folklore/folklife.

ical. Historical treatments of the subject have been rather uneven. This is attributable to several factors; not least among these have been the major foci of Middle Eastern scholarship: language and literature on the one hand, and intellectual and political history on the other.³ Another factor is the wide variety and mixed quality of the sources for the study of Islamic costume history. These sources include scattered references in literary and non-literary texts in various Middle Eastern languages, European travelogues, artistic representations (both indigenous and foreign), and actual fragments of preserved garments. With the exception of an occasional chapter in a text of *hadīth* (traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad) or *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), a *hisba* manual (handbook for the inspector of markets), or an *adab* (polite high culture) treatise, very few discrete works were devoted to clothing. Most mentions—some very detailed and some very sketchy—of the subject were made in passing, apropos of something else.⁴

Studies of costume are generally concerned either with the reconstruction of an aspect of historic dress or with the documentation of modern “traditional” or “folkloric” (meaning twentieth-century) costume. Garments or costume accessories which are older than two centuries are relatively rare, so despite differences in focus and period, reconstructions of historical dress all share a reliance on contemporary (that is, of that period) writing and visual arts for information. Travelers, local historians, and authors of legal documents all mention the clothing of the indigenous people they are observing or of their peers, as the case may be, but it is a challenging job to sort through the confusing array of brief descriptions and the variety of terminology used. Since the authors never give complete descriptions of the clothing they mention, the corroborative evidence provided by the work of contemporary artists is crucial. Unfortunately, the artists often depict costume in a sketchy manner, leaving the viewer to

³ See Eugen Wirth’s strong appeal for having material culture integrated into Orientalist studies, “Orientalistik und Orientforschung,” *ZDMG*, Supplement III:1 (1977), pp. lxxv-lxxx.

⁴ For various studies dealing specifically with the problematics of using written sources for the study of material culture, see Heinrich Appelt (ed.), *Die Funktion der schriftlichen Quelle in der Sachkulturforschung* (Österreichischen Akademie des Wissenschaften: Vienna, 1976).

imagine the details—an easy job for a contemporary, but much more difficult after hundreds of years.

This book is a study of one important aspect of Arab material culture. It is a relatively short historical survey of Arab attire from the rise of Islam to the present. It is a synthesis of my views on Arab dress that have taken form over thirty years of work in this field. While in part descriptive, its principal focus is on the evolution and transformations of modes of dress through different periods and geographic regions in the history of the Arab world. Arab clothing is treated as part of a vestimentary system—the Islamic vestimentary system. Clothing is discussed on various levels: within the context of the social, religious, aesthetic, economic, and political trends of each age. Or again to cite Barthes, this book attempts to establish “l'équivalence entre la forme vestimentaire et l'esprit général d'un temps ou d'un lieu.”⁵

In addition to the five historical chapters (One-Four and Eight), several chapters (Five-Seven) have been devoted to discrete topics that are major themes running through Arab costume history; namely, the differentiation of non-believers by an imposed—but irregularly enforced—dress code, the important socioeconomic and political institution of *tirāz* (textiles embroidered with inscriptions), other luxury fabrics and *khila'* (honorific garments), and perhaps the most well-known and frequently misunderstood aspect of the Islamic vestimentary system by people in the Western world, the institution of veiling. The ninth and final chapter is a bibliographical epilogue surveying and evaluating some of the principal modern studies of Arab dress and the kinds of approaches they take to the subject. This vademecum is meant as an introduction to the academic literature and its types and is an ancillary to the much more detailed bibliography that follows it.

As will be apparent from the numerous notes, this book is based on a great many sources. In addition to the Arabic literary and religious texts, observations of outsiders, such as European travelers, there is for the Middle Ages the unique documentary material from the tenth through thirteenth centuries of the Cairo Geniza manuscripts. The approximately 750 trousseau lists written in Judeo-Ara-

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 430.

bic (Arabic language in Hebrew script) are a mine of information on female attire in Egypt during that period of nearly 400 years. Together with other Geniza documents such as business and private correspondence, these manuscripts complement much of the scattered and often scanty, information we have from Arabic literary sources. I first came to the study of these texts which were the basis of my doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania under the tutelage of my late lamented mentor, the doyen of Geniza scholars, S. D. Goitein.

There is in addition to the sources just mentioned, another important “documentary” source material that has been used extensively for Chapter Three of this book; namely, that provided by Islamic art. Pictorial representations of clothing in murals, sculpture, wood and ivory carving, inlaid metalwork, and ceramics provide evidence of how clothing looked for much of the medieval period. Extremely detailed information on clothing is found in Arabic book illuminations from the twelfth through fourteenth centuries. These illustrations show the differences in male, female, and children’s dress. They also show the differences in dress between urban and rural folk, between various classes of society, and between Arabs and non-Arabs, such as the Turkish and Tatar military overlords who ruled over the Middle Eastern Arab countries at that time. The paintings in manuscript show many of the colors, patterns, and embellishments described in the literary and documentary texts. The question might well be posed: How reliable are these artistic sources? In studying Islamic art with another beloved teacher and mentor, the late Richard Ettinghausen, I came to the belief, shared by him and other Islamic art historians that Arab painting (though not always Persian painting), woodcarving, and metal inlays, within certain limits, are on the whole, accurate mirrors of their times.

Still another source upon which the book is based is the archaeological evidence of actual garments or fragments of garments that have survived from the medieval period and are now mainly in museum collections. And for the last two centuries, there are the numerous substantial ethnographic collections of traditional clothing from Arab countries in museums and private collections in North Africa and the Middle East, North America, and Europe.

For the modern period, there is of course a great abundance of

material not available for earlier periods—newspapers, magazines, and best of all photographs. But these have their own problematics of interpretation. Not a few ethnographic photographs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (and some later ones) are staged images, catering to European romantic notions and taste for exotica. Young women and sometimes young men—according to the proclivities of the photographer—are occasionally posed with clothing that reveals parts of the body which would never be exposed in real life. Women are sometimes shown in scenes of daily life absolutely laden with jewelry in quantities that might not even have been worn on festive occasions. Furthermore, because of the emphasis on the romantic and the exotic, photographs by European photographers often fail to show trends in fashion within the Arab world which have proceeded rapidly with the increasing globalization of Western material culture throughout the last few decades of the twentieth century.

Y.K.S.

CHAPTER ONE

PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE EARLY UMMA

Arab Clothing Before the Rise of Islam

The earliest evidence for the clothing worn in ancient Arabia is the rupestrian art of prehistoric Arabia (second and first millennia B.C.). These rock drawings show men wearing relatively little clothing aside from a *cache-sexe* and a variety of headdresses (Some sort of slippers or sandals were also worn by both sexes.¹

Despite numerous references to the Arabs in classical geographical and historical literature, there is only scattered and scanty information concerning their attire. Herodotus mentions that the Arabs wore the *zeira*, a sort of long flowing garment caught in with a belt.² This most certainly is the earliest mention of that most basic Arab garment, the *izār* (also found in the forms *azr*, *izāra*, *mi'zar*, and in Middle Arabic texts and vernaculars *izār*), a large sheet-like wrap worn both as a mantle and a long loin cloth or waist cloth (cf. late Biblical Hebrew *ēzōr*). Herodotus's testimony is corroborated by Strabo, writing four centuries later, who says of the Arab Nabataeans that “they go without tunics, with girdles about their loins, and with slippers on their feet.” Statues from the ancient north Hijāzī kingdom of Lihyān depict the ruler as being bare chested, wearing only the *izār* around the waist, just as Strabo described their northern neighbors the Nabataeans.³ The mode of wearing the *izār* by the Muslim pilgrim in a state of *ihrām*, or temporary consecration, reflects this ancient fashion (see Pl. 1).

¹ See Emmanuel Anati, *Rock-art in Central Arabia*, vol. 1 (Institut Orientaliste: Louvain, 1968), pp. 159, 163, *et passim*, and for illustrated examples, figs. 4, 8, 9, 10, 18, 21, 25.

² Herodotus, *The Histories*, Book 7:66; by Aubrey de Selincourt (Penguin Books: Baltimore, 1954), p. 440.

³ Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 4, 26. René Dussaud, *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, tome LIX (Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner: Paris, 1955), p. 132, fig. 29.

Those Arabs who lived within the cultural sphere of one or another of the great empires could not help but be influenced by the fashions of the higher civilizations, clothing being a manifestation of culture, no less than art, architecture, and literature. Thus we find statues of the Arab rulers of Hatra in Mesopotamia which depict them wearing Parthian-style dress. Some wear a sleeved mantle and chiton, and others Persian trousers and military festoons.⁴ Those Arabs who inhabited the oasis towns of the Syrian desert apparently dressed in the fashion of the eastern Hellenistic world; that is, in tunics, wraps, and mantles.⁵ This Hellenistic mode of dress, though considerably more refined, belonged to the same broader vestimentary system as did the traditional clothing of the Arabs in the Arabian Peninsula.

The Arabian Bedouin, because of their conservative existence beyond the pale of sedentary civilization, have maintained a fairly constant style (albeit with considerable change of detail) of dress from pre-Islamic times down to the present. Throughout the Muslim world loose wraps have always been an extremely common feature of dress for both men and women. The great medieval Arab sociologist, Ibn Khaldūn, noted that wraps, as opposed to tailored or fitted clothing, were the mark of non-urban dwellers (“The people of the desert do not need it [i.e., the craft of tailoring] because they wrap themselves in pieces of cloth”).⁶ Ibn Khaldūn’s observation, of course, needs some modification. Townspeople both in Arabia and in the more cosmopolitan centers of the eastern Mediterranean wore wraps also. However, these were of finer quality, often ornate, and were worn over fitted clothing.

Detailed descriptions of Arab clothing in Antiquity with regard to color, pattern, and fabric, are, alas, woefully lacking. The Bedouin have into modern times always shown a preference for dark garments. And there is reason to believe that this was true at least as far back as Late Antiquity. The Babylonian Talmud cites the dark gar-

⁴ Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, vol. 2 (Walter de Gruyter: Berlin, 1965), p. 227.

⁵ See Dussaud, *La pénétration des Arabes*, pp. 100-105, figs. 20-23, *et passim*.

⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima* (Qāsim Muḥammad al-Rajab: Baghdad, n.d., repr. Beirut 1900), p. 411. My translation. The rendering in *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 2, trans. Franz Rosenthal (Pantheon Books: New York, 1958), p. 367, does not quite capture the sense of the original Arabic *yashtamilūna ɻ-athwāb ishtimālan*.

ments of an Arab as an example of a blue-black color it is trying to define with precision (Tractate *Niddah*, 20a). Clothing is frequently mentioned in *Jāhilī* poetry, especially the many kinds of outer mantles such as the *burd*, *izār*, *mirṭ*, *rayṭ*, *ridā'*, and *shamla* (apparently similar to the bibl. Heb. *simla*). For example, in a well-known ode, the sixth-century poet al-Samaw' al b. 'Adiyā' states that 'If a man's honor is not sullied by baseness, then every *ridā'* in which he cloaks himself will become him.'⁷ Al-A' shā, who lived into the earliest days of the Islamic era, talks of "women who walk unsteadily because of the train of their *baqīr* (a sleeveless shift) and their *izāra*."⁸ The poet prince Imru 'l-Qays (died ca. 550) described "the substitute *rayt* [a nickname for the *khimār*] with edge unfolded."⁹

Tertullian mentions that Arabian women appeared in public totally enveloped in their mantle in such a way so that only one eye is left free.¹⁰ This fashion continues in places as far apart as Iran and southern Algeria and Morocco.

The use of footwear in Arabia goes back to prehistoric times and was certainly necessitated by the harsh landscape. Many of the figures in the ancient rupestrian engravings mentioned above wear some sort of distinctive shoe or sandal. The Talmud specifically mentions that the sandals worn by the Arabs are "close-fitting" (Tractate *Yevamot*, 102a) and that they "are knotted tightly by the shoemakers" (Tractate *Shabbat*, 112a).

The Time of the Prophet and Early Islam

The fashion of dress of the earliest Muslim community was on the whole an extension of the preceding period, with certain modifications for the new moral sensibilities engendered by Islam. Functionalism was now tempered by ideology. It is interesting to observe that many of the garments worn by the Prophet and his contemporaries

⁷ A. J. Arberry, *Arabic Poetry: A Primer for Students* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1965), p. 31 (Arabic text).

⁸ Cited in R. P. A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes* (Jean Müller: Amsterdam, 1845), p. 36.

⁹ Hasan al-Sandūbī, *Sharḥ Dūwān Imrī' al-Qays* (al-Maktaba al-Thaqafiyah: Beirut, 1982), p. 67, no. 6: *ka-miṣqab al-rayṭ idh nashsharta huddābahū*.

¹⁰ Tertullian, *De virginibus velandis*, 17: *Judicabunt vos Arabiae feminae ethnicae, quae non caput, sed faciem quoque ita totam tegunt, ut uno oculo liberato . . .*

continued through the centuries as the basic clothing of villagers and Bedouin both throughout the Middle Eastern heartlands and in wider Muslim world, being simple, functional, and suitable to the ecology. Functionalism, however, was, as just noted, now tempered by ideology. The cosmopolitan urban dweller, though perhaps far more conscious of *sunna* (Islamic tradition) than his rural or nomadic cousins, has since Umayyad times been constantly modifying his wardrobe. Stylistic variance also increased in the farther regions of the Islamic world, as for example in the Maghreb. Nevertheless, the basic outlines of the Islamic vestimentary system have remained remarkably constant even in the city and even in far-flung regions.

The basic articles of clothing at the time of the Prophet for both sexes consisted of an undergarment, a body shirt, a long dress, gown, or tunic, and an overgarment such as a mantle, coat, or wrap, foot-gear consisting of shoes or sandals, and a head covering. A person might wear many garments or only one depending upon a variety of factors including weather, occasion, economic means, etc. Many of the items of clothing worn by men and women were identical. Indeed, many of the articles were simply large pieces of fabric in which the wearer wrapped himself, the basic fashion that Ibn Khaldūn associated with the *ahl al-badw*, “the people of the desert.” What must have set off male from female fashion in many instances was the manner of draping, the accessories (jewelry, head- and footgear, and veils), as well as colours, fabrics and decoration. (The present-day stylistically different use by men and women of the *jallāba* in Morocco or the *‘abā’/‘abā’ā* in various parts of the Middle East offers a suggestive parallel.)

The basic undergarment was the *izār* (sometimes referred to as *haqw*), the loincloth which goes back to prehistoric times. It may well be—although there is dispute over this point in the Muslim traditions as well as in Western scholarship—that *sirwāl* (from Old Persian *zāravārō*; modern P. *shalwār*) or underdrawers were already in use by this time before the conquest of Iran. Persian cultural influence had filtered down into Arabia through the Lakhmid kingdom of Hira and perhaps up through the Yemen which was wrested from Ethiopian occupation by the Persians in 575 and remained a Sasanian satrapy for more than fifty years when the Bādhān, the last Persian satrap embraced Islam in 628. The use of underdrawers is attested in the ancient Near East outside the Persian cultural orbit. The Israelite

priests, for example, wore linen breeches as part of their vestments when performing sacred rites (cf. Exodus 28:42-43). There are *hadīths* both claiming and denying that the Prophet wore *sirwāl*. From many *hadīths*, however, it would seem that there were women who were certainly *mutasarwīlāt*, i.e. wearing the *sirwāl*, at this early period. In one well-known story the Prophet averted his glance out of modesty from a woman who had fallen from her mount until he was assured that she was wearing a *sirwāl*. How these early *sirwāl* looked cannot be ascertained. In later Islamic times they differed greatly from country to country and included all sorts of pantaloons, kneebreeches, long trousers, and close-fitting drawers. It is reported that the men who bore ‘Ā’isha’s litter on the pilgrimage wore *tubbān*, small *sirwāl* or briefs (see Pl. 2).¹¹ Not everyone in early Islamic Arabia could afford a separate undergarment, and there are numerous *hadīths* in which men without underwear are forbidden to sit or squat publicly, truss up their garments while working, or to drape themselves in the fashion known as *al-ṣammā’* whereby one end of the mantle is pulled up on the shoulder leaving the other side of the body exposed—apparently in the style of the Greek chiton.¹² The new Islamic sensibilities which were in marked contrast to Jāhilī society’s easygoing attitude to nudity and very much in line with biblical notions of propriety (cf. Exodus 20:23) would not permit exposure of a man’s genitalia in accordance with the koranic injunction “O Children of Adam! We have revealed unto you clothing to conceal your shame” (Sura VII:26). The medieval Arabic dictionaries in fact defined clothing (*libās*) first and foremost functionally and ideologically as “that which conceals or covers the pudenda,” and the word *libās* itself in late medieval usage and later Arabic dialects became the general term for undergarments and more particularly pantaloons.¹³

The basic body shirt was the *qamīṣ* (from late Latin *camisia*).¹⁴ Like

¹¹ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb* xxv, *bāb* 18.

¹² See, for example, al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, viii, 8; viii, 10, 1; lxxvii, 20, 2; and most of the other canonical collections.

¹³ See for example al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* and al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs*, s.v. Already in the *Arabian Nights*, the words *libās* and *sirwāl* are used interchangeably. For examples from modern dialects, see Yedida Kalfon Stillman, *Palestinian Costume and Jewelry* (University of New Mexico Press: Albuquerque, 1979), pp. 18-19 and the sources cited in the notes on p. 122.

¹⁴ Cf. Jerome, *Epistola* LXIV, 11; and also *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* III (B. G. Teubner: Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1907), p. 207, and the sources cited there from the fourth through early seventh centuries.

so many items of Islamic attire, it was worn by both sexes. It ranged from mid-thigh to full length and could have long or short sleeves. The opening for the neck was round unlike the square-cut *thawb* and could either be slit down the front or not. Just as in the Arab world today, the *qamīṣ* was frequently worn by children as their sole garment. The Prophet supposedly covered his uncle al-‘Abbās with a *qamīṣ* when the latter was taken prisoner naked at the battle of Badr in 624/2 A. H.

Any variety of robes or tunics might be worn over the *qamīṣ*. These include the *thawb* which in addition to being a long- or short-sleeved gown was also a general word for garment (the plurals *thiyāb* and *athwāb* designate clothes in general) and fabric, since many garments were no more than a piece of cloth (*shiqqa*). Also worn over the *qamīṣ* were the *jubba*, a woollen tunic with rather narrow sleeves which was imported in the Prophet's time from Syria and perhaps elsewhere in the Byzantine Empire;¹⁵ the *hulla*, a long, flowing coat which the Prophet wore tucked up when he went out and of which he is reported to have worn on occasion a red one of great beauty;¹⁶ the *qabā'*, a luxurious, sleeved robe, slit in front, with buttons (*muzarrar*), made of fabrics such as brocade (*dībāj*), and apparently of Persian provenance;¹⁷ the *farrūj*, a robe similar to the *qabā'*, but slit in the back. The Prophet is reported to have received a silk *farrūj* (*farrūj ḥarīr*) as a gift, to have worn it, prayed in it, and finally to have thrown it off as if it were suddenly loathsome, saying that it was not fitting for the God-fearing.¹⁸ The custom of wearing several layers of tunics and robes continued through the Middle Ages and still persists in traditional areas today. In Morocco, for example, one frequently sees a man wearing two and even three *jallābas* (hooded outer robe) over two or more tunics.

Arabian fashion required both men and women to wear a mantle

¹⁵ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lvi, 90 and lxxvii, 10; and Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, xxxii, 4.

¹⁶ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxxvii, 3; *ibid.*, lxi, 23, 11.

¹⁷ The Prophet is given *aqbiya muzarrara* (*qabā'*s adorned with buttons) as gifts: Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* IV, 328; and on another occasion he is also given *aqbiya min dībāj* (*qabā'*s of brocade): al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Khums*, *bāb* 11 and *Kitāb al-Adab*, *bāb* 82.

¹⁸ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 16, and *ibid.*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, *bāb* 12; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, *ḥadīth* 23; and also in al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Ḥanbal.

of some sort over everything else when appearing in public. In the case of the less well-to-do, the mantle or outer wrap might be the only garment over the underwear, and there are numerous *ḥadīths* dealing with questions of public modesty which arose because of the common presence of men dressed in a single wrap at prayer. Once again, it is the ubiquitous *izār* which was the fundamental garment in this category for both sexes. Another basic one was the *shamla*, which like *izār* simply means “wrap”. These were usually white or some other light color. The *khamīṣa*, on the other hand, was black with ornamental borders (*a’lām*). In a frequently repeated *ḥadīth*, the Prophet found himself distracted by the decoration on a *khamīṣa* he was wearing at prayer and called for a simple woollen cloak known as an *anbijāniyya*. The name of the latter indicates perhaps that such cloaks were originally imported from the town of Manbij in Syria.¹⁹ Like many wraps as far back as biblical times (cf., for example, Exodus 22:25-26), the *khamīṣa* also served as a sleeping garment.

Some wraps and mantles at this time seem to have been associated with one sex or the other, although these were in the minority. The *ridā’* was a man’s mantle par excellence, and for the man of honor, in the words of the Jāhili poet al-Samaw’al, “every *ridā’* he wears is becoming.” The *jilbāb*, *khimār*, and *mīrṭ*, on the other hand, were primarily for women. The traditionalists al-Tirmidhī, Muslim and Abū Dāwūd all repeat a *ḥadīth* about Muḥammad wearing a black *mīrṭ*, but all other references to this garment are solely in a feminine context. In several *ḥadīths*, the Prophet is specifically said to be wearing his wife ‘Ā’isha’s *mīrṭ*, which would seem to indicate that it was normally a woman’s garment.²⁰ Then, as now, there were many names

¹⁹ al-Bukhārī, *Sahīh*, viii, 14, 1, *et passim*; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, xxxii, 1. For the limited information about Manbij as a place of textile manufacture, see R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles: Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest* (Librairie du Liban: Beirut, 1972), p. 126, n. 20, citing Lammens. However, Serjeant mentions no textile by this name. See R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 3rd ed. (Brill: Leiden, 1967), p. 39, where it is only defined as a “kind of fabric of coarse, shaggy wool.” For *anbijāni* as an adjective for anything “belonging to, or made at Mambij,” see F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to be Met with in Persian Literature* (Routledge & Kegan Paul: London, 1963), p. 104.

²⁰ The Prophet reported to wear a black goats hair *mīrṭ*. Muslim, *Sahīh*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, *ḥadīth* 36; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, *bāb* 5; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-Adab*, *bāb* 49. Feminine context: Imrū’ al-Qays, *Mu’allaqa*, 28; al-Bukhārī, *Sahīh*,

for wraps and mantles, and these were often synonymous, perhaps reflecting earlier usages of regional dialects. That the terms were frequently interchangeable is clear from a *hadīth* where a woman brings the Prophet as a gift a woven *burda* with a border (*burda mansūja fīhā hāshiyatuhā*) which she herself had made and asks the people assembled if they know what a *burda* is. They answer “a *shamla*.” The story continues that Muhammad wore it as his *izār* [sic] and gave it upon request to a man who wanted it for a shroud.²¹ Many of the later Arabic dictionaries are unclear about the precise nature of early wraps and mantles mentioned in poetry and use the name of one to define another. For example, a *rayṭa* is defined both as “any *mulā'a* that is not made of two stitched pieces,” and also as “a *milḥafa*,” while a *mulā'a* is defined as “an *izār*!”²²

Many wraps and mantles were known by their fabrics. Thus the *namira* was a man’s wrap with stripes of varying colors which gave it the appearance of a tiger’s skin, whence its name. The *mulabbada* was simply a felted *kisā'* (the generic word for wrap; cf. Assyrian *kusītu*, biblical Hebrew *kesūt*, both general terms for garment or covering). The *burda* or *burd* was a wrap of striped woollen cloth produced in the Yemen. The Prophet wore a *Najrānī burd* with a wide border. He gave one such mantle of his to the poet Ka'b b. Zuhayr which became legendary. The distinction between fabric and garment is often not clear. The *hibara* was a striped garment similar to the *burd*, and according to the traditionalist Anas (died ca. 710/92 A.H.) in a *hadīth* quoted in most of the canonical collections, it was the favorite garment of the Prophet (although there is a less common tradition that the *qamīṣ* was his favorite).²³ Yet we also read of *hibara* garments, and

lii, 15. The Prophet wearing his wife’s *mirt*: Muslim, *Sahīh*, *Kitāb Fadā'il al-Sahāba*, *hadīth* 27 and elsewhere.

²¹ al-Bukhārī, *Sahīh*, xxiii, 29; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, xxxii, 1; and with variations elsewhere.

²² Muhammad Murtadā al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs* V (Dār Matkatabat al-Ḥayāt: Beirut, n.d., repr. of Bulaq Press: Cairo, 1306-1310 A.H.), p. 145 and *ibid.* I, p. 120; and for other dictionaries, see Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, III (Williams and Norgate: London, 1867), p. 1200.

²³ “What article of clothing did the Prophet like best? ‘The *hibara*,’ he replied.” See for example, al-Bukhārī, *Sahīh*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, *bāb* 18; Muslim, *Sahīh*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, *hadīth* 33; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, *bāb* 43 and 45; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, *bāb* 11; and elsewhere. For the *qamīṣ* as favorite, see Abū Dāwūd, *op. cit.*, *bāb* 27.

thus, in a tradition attributed to 'Ā'isha, the Prophet was wrapped in a *burd* of *hibara* fabric when he died (*sujjīya bi-burd hibara*).²⁴

The *siyarā'* was both a mantle of Seres (Gk. Σηρες; Aramaic *shīrā'*) or Chinese silk and the fabric itself. Thus we find *hulla siyarā'*, *burd siyarā'*, *qamīṣ harīr siyarā'*, and a striped textile produced in Aden from such silk and designated *musayyar*. It was considered so luxurious that the Prophet is reported to have told 'Umar "only those who have no chance for the world to come" would wear a *hulla siyarā'*.²⁵ He did, however, give such garments because of their great value as gifts to his Companions but did not expect them to wear them, and when his nephew and son-in-law, 'Alī, made the mistake of doing so, the Prophet was displeased.²⁶

Precisely how these mantles and the many others mentioned in the traditions were draped we cannot know, but it is quite clear from the sources that there was a wide variety of styles. This is further corroborated by the fact that in those parts of the Islamic world where traditional wraps and mantles are still worn today there is considerable variation from one locale to the other in draping style. The canonical *hadīth* collections are almost unanimous in citing condemnations of the practice of ostentatiously trailing one's garment along the ground (*jarr min al-khayulā'*). The pre-Islamic poets frequently describe the dragging of one's garments along the ground in times of peace, prosperity, and carousing. The poet 'Amr b. Qamī'a bemoaning his lost youth recalls the times "when I trailed my *rayt* and *mīrt* to the nearest wine-merchants and shook my curly locks."²⁷ And poet Ta'abbata Sharran juxtaposes the easy-going manner of the warrior when he went about "among his tribe with trailing garment and flowing dark hair" with his demeanor when he went to out to battle.²⁸

²⁴ al-Bukhārī, *Sahīh*, *Kitāb al-Janā'iz*, bāb 3 *et passim*; and in most of the other canonical collections.

²⁵ al-Bukhārī, *Sahīh*, *Kitāb al-Jum'a*, bāb 7 *et passim*; as well as in most other canonical collections. For the incident with 'Alī, who not only removed the garment but cut it into pieces and distributed them to his wives, see *ibid.*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, bāb 30. In the Talmud, the cognate *shīrā'* is also both a garment and the fabric. Cf. Tractates *Ketubbot* 63b, *Shabbat* 90a, and *Kiddushin* 32a. For some further references to this fabric in the Arab world, see R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, p. 124.

²⁶ Georg W. Freytag, *Hamasae Carmina*, vol I, pt. 2 (Typis Reiis Arabicis in Fooicina Baadeni: Bonn, 1828), p. 504.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 383: *musbil fi 'l-hayy ahwā' rifall*.

Ankle-length garments were considered proper in the early *umma*. Shorter garments became the mark of an ascetic, longer ones the mark of a libertine.

Already in the Prophet's time the ancient Near Eastern practice of covering the head out of modesty and respect was the norm for both men and women. It is for this reason the Muslims and Jews customarily cover their heads when praying, rather than baring them as in the West. The Qur'ān warns that the wicked man will be dragged down to hell by his exposed "lying, sinful forelock" (Sura XCVI, 15-16). Of course, a man or woman could draw his or her long mantle or ample wrap over the head, and in the case of women this was and still is the most common fashion even when some sort of hat or veil is worn under it. The Prophet is reported to have visited Abū Bakr while wearing the border of his *burd* over his head with a black headband ('iṣāba *dasmā*). In his last public appearance before his death, Muḥammad supposedly wore his *milḥafa* (a wrap similar to the *izār*) over his head, again held in place with a black headband.²⁸

The '*imāma* or turban has been worn by the Arabs since pre-Islamic times. The word turban which is used in one form or another in all western languages derives from Persian *dūlband* via vulgar Turkish *tulbant* or *tolibant*. The '*imāma* of Jāhilī and early Islamic times was probably not the composite headgear of the medieval and modern periods consisting of one or two caps (*tāqiyya* or *'araqiyya* and/or *qalansuwa*, *kulāh*, or *tarbūsh*) and a winding cloth, but merely any strip of fabric wound around the head. Georg Jacob has suggested that the later turban is a synthesis of Arab and Persian styles. This is certainly plausible since the entire Islamic vestimentary system is—as I have frequently argued—a synthesis of pre-Islamic Arab, Hellenistic Mediterranean, and Irano-Turkic modes of dress.²⁹

In the early *umma*, the '*imāma* certainly did not have any of the significance it was later to have as a "badge of Islam" (*sīmā al-Islām*) and a "divider between unbelief and belief" (*hājiza bayn al-kufr wa*

²⁸ al-Bukhārī, *Šahīh*, lxxvii, 16; *ibid.*, lxi. 25, 51.

²⁹ Georg Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben: nach den Quellen geschildert* (Mayer and Müller: Berlin 1897), p. 237. Yedida K. Stillman, "The Medieval Islamic Vestimentary System: Evolution and Consolidation," in *Kommunikation zwischen Orient und Okzident Alltag und Sachkultur* (Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Vienna, 1994), pp. 271-305; idem, "Libās," *EI²* V, pp. 732-33 and 747.

'l-*imān*). Nor was it yet—in the words of a proverb still heard in Morocco, at least—the “crowns of the Arabs” (*tijān al-‘arab*). The many *hadīths* which provide detailed descriptions of the Prophet’s *‘imāma* are clearly anachronistic. For later generations of Muslims, Muhammad was “the wearer of the turban” (*sāhib al-‘imāma*), and like many of the accoutrements associated with a hero of epic proportions, his turban had a name—*al-siḥāb* or “the cloud”. According to a Shi’ite tradition, he willed it to ‘Alī. This *hadīth* may have been circulated in order to counteract any prestige accruing to the Umayyad and ‘Abbasid caliphs by their possession of the Prophet’s *burda* which they used as a charismatic symbol of their legitimacy. One of the few reliable facts we know about the *‘imāma* in early Islamic times is that it is one of the garments specifically forbidden to a person in a state of *ihrām*. The *‘imāma* must have consisted of a very long strip of fabric as in later periods, since there are reports of its being used for bandaging. For example, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Atīk, while on a military assignment for the Prophet, bound his broken leg with his turban.³⁰ The *‘imāma* was not by any means the only form of Arabian male headcovering in the Prophet’s time. There were a variety of hats, caps, and headcloths. Some of the words used to designate these items were used for different articles of headgear in later periods. The *qalansuwa*, and the *burnus* are two such examples.

In the early *umma*, the *qalansuwa* which during the Umayyad caliphate became the name of a high, miter-like hat, originally designated a close-fitting cap. The *burnus*, which from the Middle Ages to modern times has been the name of a hooded cloak so common to the Arab world that it passed into most European languages (Spanish *albornoz*, French and English *burnous*) at least as early as the sixteenth century, seems to have been a sort of high cap or bonnet. Already in the early Muslim Arabia, the *burnus* must have also designated by extension a cloak with hood, despite Björkman’s view to the contrary since ‘Umar’s assassin was prevented from escaping by a Muslim who threw a *burnus* over him.³¹ The word *qalansuwa* apparently also could designate a hood or cowl, since it is mentioned along with the *‘imāma*

³⁰ al-Bukhārī, *Sahīh*, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, *bāb* 16, no. 2.

³¹ Contra W. Björkman, “Turban,” *EP*, IV, 889, cf. al-Bukhārī, *Sahīh*, *Kitāb Faḍā’il al-Ṣaḥāba*, *bāb* 8, no. 1.

as one of the garments which a man might spread under him for prayer when the ground was too hot.³²

The *taylasān* was a shawl-like headcloth which, though worn by Muslims, was considered a typically Khaybarī Jewish garment. Anas b. Mālik, the prolific traditionalist who had served Muḥammad from the age of ten, is reported to have remarked upon seeing some Muslims at Friday prayers wearing *tayālisa*—“It seemed to me at that moment as if I were seeing Jews from Khaybar.”³³ It could be that the *taylasān* was identical with the Jewish *tallīth*, the four-cornered shawl with “show fringe” (Hebrew *siṣīth*) on each corner in accordance with the biblical injunction of Numbers 15:37-39ff. Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean world in the centuries just preceding Islam wore a variety of such shawls (Talmudic Aramaic *appiliyōn* and *isṭōla*) which were without the ritual fringes no different from their Roman counterparts, the *pallium* and the *stola*. Perhaps the *tayālisa* that Anas saw Muslims wearing had the corner fringes like the Jewish garment. A coin of the Umayyad Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik (ruled 685-705/65-86 A.H.) depicts the caliph draped in a *taylasān* with a long tassel clearly visible on one corner.³⁴ The *taylasān* of early Islamic Arabia was probably a local variant of an eastern Roman garment and not the same as the Persian shawl, also called in Arabic *taylasān* which later became fashionable in the medieval caliphate.³⁵

The high cap known as *ṭarṭūra* or *ṭurṭūr*, though not mentioned in the early traditional literature, appears already in a 7th-century papyrus.³⁶ The sixteenth-century traveler and naturalist Pierre Belon

³² al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Ṣalāt*, bāb 23.

³³ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, bāb 38, no. 13.

³⁴ For the Greco-Roman cloaks and the *tallīth*, see Alfred Rubens, *A History of Jewish Costume* rev. ed. (Weidenfeld and Nicolson: London and Jerusalem, 1973), pp. 17-22 and 27; also Yedida K. Stillman, “Costume, Jewish,” *DMA* III, pp. 618-619. The coin in question is in the Cabinet des médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and is reproduced in D. and J. Sourdel, *La civilisation de l’Islam classique* (Arthaud: Paris, 1968), illus. 23 (between pp. 104 and 105).

³⁵ It is widely accepted that the word *taylasān* is a loan from Persian *tālīsh* and *tālīshān*. In fact, all of these names—Greek *stole*, Latin *stola*, Hebrew *tallīth*, Arabic *taylasān*, and Persian *tālīsh/tālīshān*—may all be etymologically related. For a good summary and bibliography of the debate as to which is derived from which, see Albert Arazi, “Noms de vêtements et vêtements d’après *al-ahādīth al-ḥisān fī faḍl al-taylasān d’al-Suyūṭī*,” *Arabica* 23 (1976), pp. 131, n. 2 and 147, n. 1.

³⁶ J. von Karabaček, *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel*, in *Denkschr. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissen.*, Bd. Ixii, Abh. 1 (Vienna 1918), p. 67.

suggested a connection between this cap and the ancient Egyptian headcovering called by the Latin writers *turritum capitis ornamentum* or *turritam coronam*. However, S. Fraenkel's suggestion that the word is derived from Aramaic *terātān* seems more probable, since such hats were worn in the Aramaic-speaking regions in the period just prior to the advent of Islam. They are depicted in several murals from Dura-Europos and elsewhere.³⁷

On military expeditions, men wore a *mighfar* or *ghifāra*, a cap or headcloth of mail over which was worn a *qalansuwa* or a helmet known as *bayḍa* (so-called because of its resemblance to an ostrich egg). The Prophet was wearing a *mighfar* on the day Mecca surrendered. The *mighfar* was also called *sabgha* when it had a mail-covered back flap (*rafrāf*) to protect the neck.³⁸

In addition to headcoverings of mail, the earliest Muslims also wore mail battle dress. The principal form of armor was the coat of mail known as *dir'* or *dir'a* which Nöldeke thought to be of Ethiopic origin, but as Bosworth has shown, was borrowed from Persia.³⁹ Also mentioned in the early sources is a *jubba min ḥadīd* or tunic of mail. As the *legenda d'ora* surrounding the Prophet developed in the generations that succeeded him, his armor, like his turban and sword, acquired a proper heroic name. One of his coats of mail was called *dhū subūgh*.⁴⁰

Women in early Islamic times normally covered their head and

³⁷ Pierre Belon, *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables trouvées en Grece, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie et autres pays estrangères*, cited in Dozy, *Vêtements*, 263; Siegmund Fraenkel, *Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Georg Olms: Hildesheim 1962; repr. of Leiden, 1886), p. 53. For references and variants in talmudic literature, see Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature I* (Pardes Publishing House: New York, 1950), p. 552. For artistic depictions of such hats, see for example, Richard Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic World*, Mayer Memorial Studies III (Brill: Leiden 1972), Pl. xix, no. 65.

³⁸ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-Ḥiḍād*, bāb 169. This *ḥadīth* is repeated several times in al-Bukhārī and in most of the canonical collections. For *sabgha* as a type of *mighfar*, see Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnād VI*, p. 141.

³⁹ Theodor Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Karl J. Trübner: Strasbourg, 1910), p. 53; and C. E. Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs," in *Cambridge History of Iran III: The Seleucid and Parthian Periods*, ed. Ehsan Yar-Shater, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1983).

⁴⁰ al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs VI*, p. 16.

face with any of a variety of veils when appearing in public. In addition, they were usually entirely enveloped in the large *jilbāb* from head to foot leaving only one eye free, a style which, as already noted, was mentioned by writers in late Antiquity. A common head veil was the *mandīl* or *mindīl* (ultimately derived from Latin *mantellum*; cf. Spanish *mantilla*). The word may also have already been used at this time for “handkerchief” or “hand cloth”.⁴¹

The three most common face veils were the *qinā'*, a rectangular piece of fabric that covered the head and fell down like a curtain over the face, the *lithām*, a rectangular cloth covering the nose and the lower half of the face, and the *burqu'*, a harness-like affair consisting of fabric suspended from the center front of the headband ('*ışāba*) to cover the face. The lower corners of the *burqu'* were attached to the sides of the headband by a string creating a mask-like effect. The *burqu'* is still worn by married women amongst the Sinai Bedouin. 'Āisha wore neither of these veils when she was a *muhrima* (*lā talath-thamu wa-lā tabarqa'u*).⁴² Other veils worn by women at this time were the *niqāb* and the *naṣīf*. Although veiling for women was apparently not as strict as in later urban Islam, it is clear that Jāhilī women of good standing did cover their faces before strangers, and a woman who was without veil was described as *hāsir* (also *hāsira* in the feminine form), the same word used to describe a warrior with no armor. Poets sang of how they were dumbstruck by the beauty revealed when a face was unveiled before their eyes or used the image, as did Thā'labā b. Ṣu'ayr, as a simile (“like an Ahmasī woman without a veil”—*ka 'l-Ahmasiyya fi 'l-naṣīf al-hāsir*) for something white and fair that suddenly was manifest. The poet al-Shanfarā tells how he was smitten by a woman even though she did not let her veil drop (*la-qad a'jabatnī lā saqūtan qinā'uhā*).⁴³

Oddly enough, there is no mention of any sort of hats or head-dresses for women at this early period, despite a veritable plethora of such items from the High Middle Ages to modern times. In fact, even

⁴¹ See the detailed discussion on the *mandīl* in Franz Rosenthal, *Four Essays on Art and Literature in Islam*, Mayer Memorial Studies II, (Brill: Leiden 1971), pp. 63-108.

⁴² al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-Hajj*, bāb 23.

⁴³ al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣadḍalīyyāt*, ed. Charles James Lyall (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1921), Arabic text, pp. 259 (Thā'labā) and 200 (al-Shanfarā).

some of the ancient rock drawings from Arabia depict women wearing crown-like hats.⁴⁴

Men too did veil on occasion, normally by wearing the outer mantle (*izār*, *ridā'*, *burd*, *milḥafa*, etc.) in such a way as to cover both head and face). The Prophet is described on more than one occasion as being *mutaqanni'*. This does not necessarily imply that he was wearing the face veil known as *qinā'* or *miqna'* a since the verbs *qanna'a*, *aqna'a*, and *taqanna'a* were all used in a more general sense of covering the head and face, and one could use one's mantle (*mulā'a*, *burd*, or *ridā'*) or even one's robe (*thawb*) for the purpose. Very handsome young men sometimes veiled their faces, particularly at feasts and fairs, in order to protect themselves from the evil eye.⁴⁵ The free end of the turban cloth frequently served as a face veil to protect the wearer against dust while riding. It was veiled in this fashion that Umayyad viceroy al-Hajjāj in 694/75 A.H. entered into the mosque at Kufa, mounted the pulpit, and dramatically bared his face as he began his famous sermon with the lines "I am the son of splendor, the scaler of the high places/When I take off my turban you know who I am."

Footwear for both sexes fell into one of two categories—the *na'l*, or sandal, which could be of palm fibre, smooth leather, or leather with animal hair, and the *khuff*, a sort of shoe or boot made of leather. The Prophet apparently considered the *na'l* to be the norm in male footwear. A person who did not have a pair could wear *khuff* instead, but according to one tradition that probably reflected an ascetic tendency which considered *khuff* to be luxurious, Muḥammad recommended that one should cut the upper part of the boot down to ankle length.⁴⁶ Fine sandals in Jāhilī poetry were the mark of a high-ranking personage. The poet al-Nābigha in a panegyric to the Ghassānid royal family describes them as wearing "soft fine sandals."⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Anati, *Rock-Art in Central Arabia* I, pp. 78-80 and 163.

⁴⁵ For the Prophet veiled, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, *bāb* 16 and in many other places throughout the canonical traditions; for the use of the *mulā'a* for veiling, see *ibid.*, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, *bāb* 80, no. 1; for the *burd*, see Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* V, p. 204; for *ridā'*, see *ibid.* II, p. 96; for *thawb*, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, *bāb* 16. For veiling as a defense against the evil eye, see al-İsfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, VI, p. 33; XI, p. 28; XIII, p. 137; XV, p. 157; also Julius Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 3rd edition (W. de Gruyter: Berlin, 1961)², p. 196.

⁴⁶ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, *bāb* 37, nos. 3-4.

⁴⁷ al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, *Dīwān al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī*, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Dār al-Ma'ārif: Cairo, 1990), p. 47, vs. 25.

Each sandal might have one or two laces (*shirāk* or *shirākān*). The Prophet customarily wore double-laced sandals of tanned leather without animal hair.⁴⁸

The various kinds of slippers which are popular throughout the modern Islamic world under a variety of names (*bābūj*, *tāsūma*, *surmūja*, *bulgha*, etc.) came into vogue after the conquests and were adopted from the Persians and the Byzantines.

Early Islamic laws and customs regarding clothing

The austere nature of the early Medinese *umma* which reflected the conviction that the Last Judgment was not far off did not encourage luxury of any kind. Many *hadiths* recommend modesty and austerity in dress and condemn ostentation and extravagance. The Qur'ān promises the righteous garments of silk in Paradise:

Lo, God will cause those who believe and do good deeds to enter gardens beneath which rivers flow and in which they shall be permitted bracelets of gold and pearls, and in which their clothing will be silk.⁴⁹

However, the Prophet felt that such clothes were inappropriate in this life for men, although apparently not for women. According to a frequently-repeated *hadith* with slight variations in the items, Muḥammad forbade seven things: silver vessels, gold rings, garments of *harīr*, *dībāj* (brocade), *qassī* (a striped fabric from Egypt containing silk), *istabraq* (satin), and *mayāthir ḥumr* (tanned hides).⁵⁰ Actually, there are many more fabrics mentioned in the traditional literature which he supposedly proscribed.

It would seem that he did make exceptions in the case of individuals suffering from some pruritic skin condition. He allowed 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and al-Zubayr b. 'Awwām to wear silk garments while on a military expedition because they complained about being afflicted with lice. According to another tradition, he gave them a

⁴⁸ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, *bāb* 37, no. 2 and 41, nos. 1-2.

⁴⁹ Sura XXII:23. See also Suras XXV:33 and LXXVI:12 and 21.

⁵⁰ For examples of slightly different variants, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Mardā*, *bāb* 4 and *Kitāb al-Libās*, *bāb* 45.

dispensation to wear a silk body shirt (*qamīṣ min harīr*) because of an itch that was plaguing them.⁵¹

With the development of the empire and the rise of a leisured class, there came into being a wealth of counter-traditions expressing the permissibility of wearing clothes of silk and other luxury fabrics.

Many of the earliest and most reliable traditions regarding clothing deal with *ihrām* and questions of ritual impurity caused by menstrual flow or the ejaculation of semen. A man in a state of *ihrām* was limited to two simple, untailored garments, an *izār* around the waist and a *ridā'* on the upper body, draped over one shoulder. Sandals were the recommended footwear. The *qamīṣ*, the *jubba*, the *'imāma*, the *sirwāl*, the *burnus*, and *khuff* were specifically forbidden. The reason for the prohibition is that the *qamīṣ*, *jubba*, and the *sirwāl* were tailored garments, and the *'imāma* and *burnus* were headcoverings. *Khuff* were proscribed because they covered the ankles, but were permitted in the case of a person who had no sandals if they were cut down below the ankle.⁵² Garments dyed with either saffron or *wars*, a plant from Yemen which gave a saffron-like color, were also specifically forbidden to a *muhrim*, as were garments permeated with the perfume known as *khalūq* which, however, could be used if washed three times.⁵³ It is reported that 'Ā'isha did wear garments dyed with safflower, while a *muhrima*. As already noted above, she wore neither the *lithām* nor the *burqu'* when in a state of *ihrām*, but saw nothing wrong with a woman wearing jewelry, a black or rose-colored head veil, or boots. An illumination in a manuscript of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* probably executed in Syria during the early thirteenth/seventh century depicts pilgrims wearing *ihrām* garments that are dyed in subdued hues.⁵⁴

Despite a few canonical *hadīths* which attribute to Muhammad the

⁵¹ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Jihād*, *bāb* 91, nos. 2 and 1.

⁵² al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Hajj*, *bāb* 21, no. 1, which mentions all except the *jubba*. For the latter, see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Hajj*, *bābs* 6, 7, and 10.

⁵³ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Hajj*, *bābs* 17, 21, 23; and Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Hajj*, *bābs* 6, 7, 10. Concerning *wars*, see Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, pp. 127, 129, 132, and 206, and the sources cited there.

⁵⁴ See note 42 above. For pilgrims in colored *ihrām* garments, see Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 6094, fol. 103 *verso*. For pilgrims in white *ihrām* as today, but in shorter waist wrappers that are only knee-length, see Oriental Institute, Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg) ms S 23, p. 208.

statement that “the best of your clothes are the white”⁵⁵ and non-canonical ones such as “God loves white clothing and he created Paradise white,”⁵⁶ which reflect a later pious preference, it is clear that the Prophet wore many different colored garments, including red, green, and black, in addition to white. He apparently did have an aversion to saffron-dyed garments which he considered inappropriate for men under any circumstances.⁵⁷ As noted above, he did not forbid such garments to women, except when they were in a state of *ihrām*.

Although not anywhere near to the same degree as Judaism, Islam also exhibited considerable concern for ritual impurity caused, *inter alia*, by any issue or flux from the human sexual organs. Intercourse, menstruation, and seminal emissions rendered not only a person ritually unclean, but could also in certain circumstances render clothing touched by emissions impure and therefore unfit to be worn during prayer. Each of the Prophet’s wives had special menstrual garments (*thiyāb hīda*).⁵⁸ Garments defiled by menstrual flow, however, needed only to be washed to be worn for prayer, and if not stained, a menstrual garment may be worn for prayer without washing.⁵⁹ When the Prophet wished to have physical contact with his wives during their menses, he would have them wrap themselves in an *izār* before engaging in *mubāshara* (non-vaginal sexual relations).⁶⁰

Garments stained with sperm also required washing before they could be worn for prayer. ‘Ā’isha related that she would wash off the traces of semen and other impurities from the Prophet’s clothes and that he would then wear them for prayer even with the water stains from the washing still visible.⁶¹ However, a garment worn during

⁵⁵ Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-Janā’iz*, *bāb* 12; *ibid.*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, *bāb* 5; and al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Adab*, *bāb* 46.

⁵⁶ Dozy, *Dictionnaire des noms de vêtements*, p. 6, citing *Majma’ al-Anhur*.

⁵⁷ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, *bābs* 33-34.

⁵⁸ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Hayd*, *bābs* 21 and 22. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Hayd*, *bāb* 5.

⁵⁹ Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-Tahāra*, *bābs* 130 and 138; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Tahāra*, *bāb* 104; al-Dārimī, *Musnād*, *Kitāb al-Wuḍū’*, *bābs* 83 and 105; see also al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Wuḍū’*, *bāb* 63, no 1.

⁶⁰ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Hayd*, *bāb*, nos. 1-3; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Hayd*, *bābs* 1-3.

⁶¹ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Wuḍū’*, *bābs* 64 and 65.

sexual intercourse could be worn for prayer without washing so long as it showed no signs of stain, and one non-canonical tradition specifically states that a *junub* (a person in a state of major ritual impurity caused by sexual intercourse or seminal emission and requiring *ghusl*, or major ablution) was not required to wash his garment as well.⁶²

Neither spittle nor nasal secretions rendered a garment unfit for prayer, and when in the mosque, the Prophet spat into the edge of his *ridā'*, he then simply folded that part of the fabric over.⁶³

It is not certain whether or not women in the early *umma* had special clothes for mourning. During the Jāhiliyya, a woman wore her worst clothes when in mourning for a husband. The Prophet forbade women in mourning to wear dyed clothing except for garments of *'asb*, a Yemenite fabric with threads dyed prior to weaving.⁶⁴ The technical term for “mourning garment” (*thawb al-ḥidād*) only appears in Ibn Ḥanbal (*Musnad* VI, 438) and seems to be a later development. The name implies a garment dyed to a dark iron black.⁶⁵

The iconoclasm of early Islam extended to garments with images embroidered upon them. Coptic, Byzantine, and Persian garments of the period frequently had human, animal, and vegetal figures on them on the decorative bands and patches. Crosses were also frequently found on Coptic and Byzantine clothes.⁶⁶ Muhammad found such clothing objectionable, removed all such items from his wife's living quarters and refused to wear garments on which images were woven. One cryptic *ḥadīth* seems to indicate that he made an exemption for floral designs.⁶⁷ Later Muslims under the great caliphates, as shall be seen, had no such scruples about wearing fine garments with

⁶² al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 2; Zayd ibn ‘Alī, *Majmū‘ al-Fiqh* [“Corpus Juris,” *La Piu Anatica di Legislazione e di Giurisprudenza Musulmana Finora Ritrovata*] I, ed. E. Griffini (U. Hoepli: Milan, 1919), no. 234.

⁶³ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Wuḍū'*, *bāb* 70; *ibid.*, *Kitāb al-Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 33, no. 1; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *al-Tahāra*, *bāb* 139; al-Nasa’ī, *Sunan*, *al-Tahāra*, *bāb* 192.

⁶⁴ Jāhilī mourning garments: al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Talāq*, *bāb* 46: *wa-labisat sharra thiyyābihā*; prohibition on dyed clothing: *ibid.*, *bāb* 48 and 49: *wa-lā talbasū thawban maṣbūghan illā thawb 'asb*.

⁶⁵ Ibn Ḥanbal *Musnad* VI, p. 438.

⁶⁶ For numerous illustrated examples of such clothing, see Alisa Baginski and Amalia Tidhar, *Textiles from Egypt, 4th-13th Centuries C.E.* (L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art: Jerusalem, 1980), *passim*.

⁶⁷ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, *bāb* 90 and 93; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* VI, p. 172. For the possible exception of floral designs, see al-Bukhārī, *ibid.*, 92.

embroidered figures just as they had no objection to silk, brocade, and other luxury fabrics.

As already noted, many of the garments worn in early Islamic times were the same for both men and women, especially tunics and wraps. There were, nonetheless, distinct stylistic differences. Islam, like Judaism and Christianity, strictly condemns transvestitism. However, in Islam this prohibition clearly refers to overall conduct as much as to dress.⁶⁸

Clothes have always been considered objects of significant material value in the Middle East. They are mentioned as valuable gifts, a medium of payment, and items of booty. A man who had worked in the Prophet's baggage train supposedly went to Hell for taking a single 'abā'a (a sleeveless robe) from the *khums*, or fifth part of the booty reserved for the Prophet.⁶⁹ Garments could also be used for the payment of the *zakāt*, or alms tax incumbent upon all Muslims. Garments are also specifically mentioned as being acceptable in lieu of cash as payment for the *jizya*, the tribute required from Jews and Christians in Yemen at the time of the Prophet.⁷⁰

As had been the custom of oriental rulers since ancient times, Muḥammad bestowed valuable garments upon members of his entourage as a mark of favor. The most famous example of this was the gift of his own personal *burd* to the poet Ka'b b. Zuhayr.⁷¹ This particular act became the single most important precedent for the custom under the caliphate of bestowing a *khil'a*, or robe of honor, and in Ṣūfi circles of a master bestowing his patchwork robe, or *khirqa* on his designated successor.

Many customs were associated with clothes in the early *umma*.

⁶⁸ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, bāb 61. That it is overall demeanor no less than attire that is objectionable, cf. *ibid.*, 61.

⁶⁹ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al- Jihād*, bāb 190.

⁷⁰ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Ζakāt*, bāb 33; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya* II (Maktabat Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Halabī: Cairo, 1955/1375), p. 596.

⁷¹ For ancient examples, see Genesis 37:3, where the Patriarch Jacob singles out Joseph with a ceremonial or royal robe; *ibid.*, 41:42, where Pharaoh honors Joseph with fine linen garments; and Herodotus, *Histories* III, 47, where the Pharaoh Amasis sends the Lydian ruler Croesus as a royal gift a corselet of linen embroidered with gold and cotton thread and with figures of animals woven into the fabric. For the presentation of the *burda* to Ka'b, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kitāb al-Kāmil fī Ta'rikh* II (Būlāq Press: Cairo, 1301 A.H.), pp. 133-134.

Then as now, pious wishes and felicitations were appropriate for someone with a new garment. Muḥammad wished Umm Khālid *ablī wa-akhlīf!* (“wear it out and exchange it!”), when he presented her with a small black *khamīṣa*.⁷² In more recent times, the wishes have become less eloquent, and one simply says *mabrūk* (“congratulations”) or *na‘imm!* (“how nice!”).

In accordance with an ancient custom going back to pagan times, the Prophet reversed his *ridā'* when he went out to make the prayer of supplication for rain (*istisqā'*). He did not reverse his cloak, however, when making the *istisqā'* on Friday in the mosque.⁷³ The act of reversing the garment was apparently symbolic of the change in weather sought. It was still practiced in Tunis at the end of the 19th century. The custom of baring the head in extreme humility during the *istisqā'* ritual also probably goes back to this period, though it is not mentioned in the literary sources until the later Middle Ages.⁷⁴

Many customs regarding clothes which most certainly have their roots in ancient Near Eastern superstition and are found also in the Talmud are ascribed to Muḥammad in the Muslim traditions. Thus the believer should always put the right shoe on first and remove the left one first. He should not go out with only one shoe on—either both or barefoot (cf. the ill omen for Pelias of anyone shod in only a single sandal, in the Greek myth of Jason).⁷⁵ Furthermore, shoes should never be left with the soles facing heavenward. (This latter taboo is still common among Muslims and Jews throughout the Middle East and North Africa.)

As shown above, the earliest Muslims in Arabia maintained the same general style of dress that had prevailed in the Peninsula during the preceding pagan period with certain modifications for the new

⁷² al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, *bāb* 22, no. 1, and 32, no. 1.

⁷³ Reversing the *ridā'*: al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Istisqā'*, *bāb* 1 and 4; not reversing: *ibid.*, *bāb* 11 (*bāb* 6-9 all contain *hadīths* about the prayer for rain in the mosque on Friday, but make no mention of either reversing or not reversing the mantle, although the implication is clearly that he did not reverse in this circumstance; also *ibid.*, *Kitāb al-Junū'a*, *bāb* 34 and 35).

⁷⁴ Wellhausen, *Reste*, 197; Ignac Goldziher, “Die Entblössung des Hauptes,” *Der Islam* 6 (1916), pp. 301-16, especially, p. 304; and T. Fahd, “*Istiskā'*,” *EI²* IV, pp. 269-270.

⁷⁵ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, *bāb* 38-40; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-Libās*, *bāb* 41. For a talmudic parallel, see *BT Shabbat* 61a.

religious sensibilities. A new chapter in the history of Islamic Arab attire would open when less than two years after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad, his followers would pour out of their homeland in a war of conquest that expanded the early *umma* in less than a century into a great empire stretching from the Atlantic to Central Asia. The triumph of Muslim armies fostered a new world outlook, and the settlement of Arabs in the conquered territories brought them into intimate, face-to-face contact with large non-Arab populations with different cultures and different vestimentary systems.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ISLAMIC VESTIMENTARY SYSTEM UNDER THE GREAT CALIPHATES

In 633, Arab armies embarked upon raids into the buffer zones between Arabia proper and the Persian Empire to the northeast and the Byzantine Empire to the northwest. Within a decade and a half, they had overwhelmed the entire Middle East. Syria, Palestine, and Egypt were wrested away from the Byzantines; Iraq and Iran from the Sasanians whose dynasty collapsed entirely. By the end of the seventh century, the caliphate had expanded across North Africa to the Atlantic coast, and by the middle of the eighth century, it was firmly established in the Iberian Peninsula and Central Asia beyond the Oxus. The greater *Dār al-Islām*, or Domain of Islam, comprehended three different cultural zones—namely, Arabia which had been beyond the pale of the great civilizations, the Hellenistic Mediterranean, and Irano-Turkic Central Asia.

Each of these three zones had distinct modes of dress. As already discussed in the previous chapter, the traditional clothing of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia was characterized by loose, flowing, untailored garments. The clothing of the Hellenistic world was characterized by tunics and wraps, and that of the Irano-Turkic world by fitted or tailored garments that included coats, jackets, and trousers. Various items of attire from the great civilizations had made their way into Arabia even before the founding and expansion of Islam. To some extent, a fusion of these three distinct modes had already begun in the Arabian fringe zones of cultural osmosis, such as Ghassān and Hīra, when Islam was born in the seventh century.

Over the next few hundred years, there emerged throughout the length and breadth of the *Dār al-Islām* a generally recognizable Islamic style of dress. There were considerable temporal and regional variations to be sure (as for example, in the Maghreb, or Islamic West, which will be discussed in Chapter Four), but these were within the parameters of a pan-Islamic mode that remained remarkably

constant throughout the Middle Ages. In addition to the emergence of what might be called Islamic fashion, there developed an Islamic ideology and sociology of dress. Together, this distinctive fashion, its ideology, and its sociology make up a system of meaning which Roland Barthes has dubbed a “vestimentary system” (“un système vestimentaire”).¹

The Islamic vestimentary system evolved gradually. At first the Arab conquerors, who found themselves to be a tiny ethnic and religious minority in their vast empire did everything possible to keep themselves distinct and separate and thus preserve their own identity. Rather than settling in large numbers in the native population centers, they established their own garrison towns, or *amṣār*, along their own inland lines of communication, safely away from the Byzantine-dominated sea. In these new towns where the Arabs were the majority, they could maintain their language, culture, and way of life and not be tainted by an overwhelming majority of non-Arab, non-Muslim subject peoples. But the Arabs could not hermetically seal themselves off from all foreign cultural influences. Not only did they have to maintain an administrative presence in the major preexisting towns, but they obtained large amounts of booty, including valuable clothing and textiles in the course of the conquest and as part of the tribute levied upon the indigenous population. Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Iran, all had great preexisting textile industries. Furthermore, the new garrison towns served as magnets for the *mawātī*, or natives who had converted to Islam and who flocked there to provide goods and services to the conquerors, who like many armies of occupation throughout history had considerable sums of money to spend. These neophyte Muslims, on the one hand, were Arabized as well as Islamized in the *amṣār*, which began to grow into great metropolitan centers.²

¹ Roland Barthes, “Histoire et sociologie du vêtement: quelques observations méthodologiques,” *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 3 (1957), pp. 430-431; and *idem*, *Le système de la mode* (Editions de Seuil: Paris, 1967), Eng. trans., *The Fashion System* (Hill and Wang: New York, 1983).

² For good summaries of the process whereby the *amṣār* served as crucibles of Arabization, see William Marçais, “Comment l’Afrique du Nord a été arabisé, 1. l’arabisation des villes,” in his *Articles et Conférences de William Marçais* (Adrien-Maisonneuve: Paris, 1961), pp. 171-184; and A. N. Poliak, “L’arabisation de l’Orient sémitique,” *REI* 12 (1938), pp. 35-63. The very word *miṣr* (singular of *amṣār*) comes to mean “metropolis” in later medieval Arabic. See the classification of city types in

But on the other hand, they brought with them elements of their own culture, including modes of dress, which passed on gradually to the Arabs and were fused into their vestimentary system.

Judging by the rather scattered and scanty literary evidence, most of the Arabian garments of early Islamic times continue into the Umayyad period (661-750/41-132 A.H.), although some items become more and more restricted to Bedouin use, as for example, the *mirt*.

The Trend toward Luxury under the Umayyads

The most significant change in the history of Arab dress during the Umayyad period was ideological. In the newly triumphant and wealthy *umma*, and with the Last Judgment seeming less imminent, most Muslims abandoned earliest Islam's aversion to luxury garments. It will be recalled that the Prophet had considered silk, satin, and brocade clothing together with gold jewelry to be intemperate luxury (*isrāf*) and hence inappropriate in this world for men. According to the Qur'ān, believers would be rewarded with clothing of silk in the world to come, but in this world "the garment of piety, that is best."³ The idea of austerity in male attire quickly gave way in the century following the Prophet's death, with the rise of a leisured class in the Islamic Empire. Only the ascetic pietists still wore simple clothing, and they eventually came to be known as *Šūfīs* because of their plain wool (*sūf*) garments. The Muslim bourgeoisie, on the other hand, indulged itself with garments made from every conceivable type of luxury fabric and justified their indulgence with countertraditions expressing the permissibility of wearing silk, brocade, satin, and the like. In the words of one such countertradition, "When God bestows benefaction upon one of his servants, He wishes the physical sign of that benefaction to be visible on him."⁴

the tenth-century geographer al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsān al-Taqāṣīm fī ma'rīfat al-Aqālīm*, ed. M. J. De Goeje (Brill: Leiden, 1906), p. 7.

³ Sura VII:26.

⁴ Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr* IV, Part 2, ed. E. Sachau, J. Lippert, et al. (Brill: Leiden, 1908), p. 29. A pithier version appears in al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-Isti'dhān wa 'l-ādāb*, *bāb* 87: "God wants the signs of His benefaction to be seen on His servants."

The ruling Umayyad dynasty set the trend toward a more luxurious style. While maintaining some of the simple outer trappings of traditional Arabian governance with consultative councils and—initially at least—public access to the caliph at open assemblies, their official art and architecture and private lifestyle were inspired by the imperial culture of the Byzantines and Sasanians. This can be clearly seen from statues, mosaics, and murals adorning the palatial desert retreats, or *bādiyas*, of the royal family in Palestine, Jordan, and Syria, such as Khirbat al-Mafjar, Quṣayr ‘Amra, and Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī.⁵

Mu‘āwiya (ruled 661-680/41-60 A.H.), the founder of Umayyad dynasty, was noted for his overall temperance (*hilm*), including his moderation in dress. ‘Abd al-Malik (ruled 685-705/65-86 A.H.) and Walīd I (705-715/86-96 A.H.) were also singled out for the general restraint that they showed in their personal attire in marked contrast to their predecessor Yazīd I (680-683/60-64 A.H.) and most of their successors. For example, a ninth-century source reports that they would wear the same garment more than once and were sparing in their use of perfume. According to a much later source, ‘Abd al-Malik’s son, Hishām, is the first Umayyad who is reported to have worn embroidered garments that he had specially made for him.⁶ Given the generally hostile attitude toward the Umayyads by the historians writing under the ‘Abbasids who had supplanted them, the reports of these caliphs’ moderation in dress deserve a considerable measure of credence.

The one Umayyad caliph who is held up by later generations as the paragon of piety and simplicity was ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (ruled 717-720/99-101 A.H.). He was noted for his personal ascetism, including with regard to his wardrobe which in its entirety, according

⁵ For a recent succinct summary, see Robert Hillenbrand, “*La dolce vita* in Early Islamic Syria: the Evidence of Later Umayyad Palaces,” *Art History* 5:1 (March 1982), pp. 1-35. See also the earlier, but still extremely valuable Oleg Grabar, “Ceremonial and Art at the Umayyad Court” (Ph.D. diss. Princeton University, 1954).

⁶ Patricia Lesley Baker, “A History of Islamic Court Dress in the Middle East” (Ph.D. diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London: London, 1986), p. 42; “*Histoire d’Égypte de Makrizi*,” tr. E. Blochet in *Revue de l’Orient Latin*, 8 (1900-1901), p. 175. Hishām supposedly had so many embroidered garments made for himself that it required 700 camels to transport what he chose to wear!

to hyperbolic anecdotes, amounted to the paltry sum of twelve dirhams.⁷ In a famous letter to 'Umar, the pietist theologian al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 728/110 A. H.) advises the ruler to “beware of this world with all wariness,” and points to the examples of prophets and saintly rulers who wore garments of sackcloth and coarse wool.⁸ But the reports of the ascetic ruler’s clothing do not specify the fabric.

Clothing made of luxury fabrics became the norm for the Umayyad caliphs and their courtiers. Sulaymān (ruled 715-717/96-99 A.H.) and his retinue—even his cook—wore only garments of *washy* or variegated silk, including the *jubba*, *ridā'*, *sirwāl*, *'imāma*, and *qalansuwa*.⁹ He is also reported to have worn a green flowing coat (*hulla*) with a turban of matching color. This color most probably still did not have the associations with the 'Alid house that it would come to have several generations later, and the green turban as a specific badge of the *sayyids*, or descendants of the Prophet, was seven centuries later still.¹⁰ Sulaymān had penchant for long, wide sleeves, supposedly because these allowed him to remove little grilled birds from skewers and to grasp hot roasted meat because he did not have the patience to let it cool. Supposedly, the grease stains on his sleeves were still visible more than half a century later when an inventory was made of precious garments that the 'Abbasids had inherited from the preceding dynasty.¹¹

The Umayyads appeared in full military attire for ceremonial

⁷ Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* V, p. 297; and Rāghib al-İsfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-Udabā'* II (Maṭab'at Ibrāhīm al-Muyallī: Cairo, 1870), p. 207. According to the former, his wardrobe consisted of a *qamīṣ*, *ridā'*, *qabā'*, *qurtāq* (a Persian vest of middle-body length which was later primarily a woman's garment), *kumma* (a cap that is described as a round variant of the *qalansuwa*), *'imāma*, and *khuff*. The latter lists the items as *qamīṣ*, *sarāwīl*, *qalansuwa*, *khuff*, and *'imāma*.

⁸ An extensive passage from the letter as cited in Abū Nu'aym, *Hilyat al-Awliyā'*, is translated in A. J. Arberry, *Sufism: An Account of the Mystics of Islam* (George Allen & Unwin: London, 1950), pp. 33-35.

⁹ al-Mas'ūdī, *Murij al-Dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-Jawhar*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and A. Pavet de Courteille (Imprimerie Impériale: Paris, 1861-1877), p. 400.

¹⁰ Adam Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, trans. Salahuddin Khuda Bakhsh and D. S. Margoliouth (Jubilee Printing and Publishing House: Patna, 1937), p. 63. For the color coding of the clothing of social groups under the Mamluks, see Chapter 5 below.

¹¹ al-Mas'ūdī, *Murij al-Dhahab* V, p. 401; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *al-Fakhrī fi 'l-ādāb al-Sultāniyya wa 'l-duwal al-Islāmiyya*, ed. W. Ahlwardt (F. A. Perthes: Gotha, 1860), p. 152; and Baker, “Islamic Court Dress,” p. 45.

occasions in keeping with their office of Commander of the Faithful which had martial, no less than religious overtones. However, it was only in the troubled late Umayyad times that Walīd II became the first caliph to appear during the great Feasts (*‘īd al-kabīr* and *‘īd al-saghrī*) fully armed. Among the distinguishing items of regalia was a special collar (*tawq*). Levy raised the possibility that the “passage [a verse of poetry] in which it is mentioned may be interpreted metaphorically,” but as Baker has pointed out in her doctoral dissertation, a mural depicting a ruler (probably Walīd I) and his attendants from Quṣayr ‘Amra, portrays them wearing wide collars that appear to be embroidered or jewelled, and are similar in design to the bracelets or cuffs on their wrists.¹² There is one report specifically mentioning the so-called “caliphal garments” (*thiyāb al-khilāfā*) being worn for prayer by al-Walīd II (743-744/125 A.H.). Later under the ‘Abbasids, the caliph wore special robes of office with embroidered borders and which were called by this name. It is only stated of al-Walīd’s “caliphal garments” that they were clean and white. The report also implies that they were unscented in addition to being undyed.¹³ The ‘Abbasid robes of state were in marked contrast normally black, the color of the messianic expectations and rebellion that had formed the backdrop to their rise to power. Their custom of wearing black garments on official occasions was established by al-Manṣūr (ruled 754-775/136-158) and was only abandoned for a brief period in favor of ‘Alid green under al-Ma’mūn (ruled 813-833/198-218).¹⁴

Despite the Prophet’s strong objections to saffron-dyed robes (and even to saffron-based perfumes) so often repeated in the *hadīth*, at least one Umayyad caliph, the sybaritic al-Walīd II, is reported to have had worn a number of such garments. Oleg Grabar has identified Indian influences in some of the Umayyad palatial retreats, and it is known that yellow silk garments were a prerogative of Indian royal families. Therefore, it may well be that wearing of saffron-dyed

¹² al-Suyūṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-Khulafā’Umarā’ al-Mu’mīnīn* (al-Maṭba’ā al-Maymāniyya: Cairo, 1887), p. 98 (where al-Walīd b. Yazīd should be read instead of Yazīd b. al-Walīd); al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh al-Rusul wa ’l-Mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje et al. (Brill: Leiden, 1879-1901) II, p. 1177; R. Levy, “Notes on Costume from Arabic Sources,” *JRAS* 20 (1935) p. 329; and Baker, “Islamic Court Dress,” pp. 43 and 443, fig. 3.

¹³ Abu l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* VI, p. 141.

¹⁴ al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh al-Rusul wa ’l-Mulūk* III, pp. 1012-1013.

robes, was but one of a number of examples of the Umayyad's adopting regal vestimentary symbolism from the other great nations.¹⁵

Regal Persian attire became part of the Marwanid Umayyads' pomp and ceremony. The caliphal statue from Khirbat al-Mafjar is depicted wearing an ankle-length, Sasanian-style *qabā'* with "pearl border." The coat is cinched with an ornamented belt, and *sirwāl* can be seen below the hem of the coat's flared skirt (Pl. 3). The stucco caliphal figure from Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī also portrays the ruler in a *qabā'* with pearl border. However, this coat is much shorter going only to the mid-thighs. The loose *sirwāl* that cover the legs appear to be of similar fabric and have a matching pearl border running down the full length of each leg. Equestrian sculptures from the palace entrance hall at Khirbat al-Mafjar also depict men in and a standing military figure in *qabā'*s with puffy quilted *sirwāl* which appear to be studded with jewels or metallic sequins. Another statue from the same venue is of a man in a belted robe of fish-scale armor (perhaps a *dir'a* or more likely, given the cut of the garment, a *jubba min ḥadīd*) with similar quilted and studded pantaloons extended from below the hem of the coat.¹⁶

Sulaymān and his courtiers are reported to have worn not only *sirwāl*, but also the conical hat known as the *qalansuwa*. In fact we know from literary and artistic representation that the high *qalansuwa*, or *qalansuwa ṭawīla*, was used as a royal symbol by late Umayyad times, although Arab historians of the Middle Ages credited its introduction on a wider scale for people at court to the 'Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr (ruled 754-775/136-158 A.H.). The *qalansuwa ṭawīla* had a miter-like appearance and was described by the Arabic sources as being shaped like a sugar loaf (*qālab sukkar*). It is also described as an inverted amphora (*dann*), and hence was later nicknamed *dannīyya*. It consisted of a frame of reed or wood covered with silk or other fabric. A stone *qalansuwa ṭawīla* hung from the vaulted ceiling of an apse in the audience hall of the bath house in Khirbat al-Mafjar, presumably over

¹⁵ Abu l-Faraj al-İsfahānī, *Kütāb al-Aghānī* II, p. 65; Oleg Grabar, "Ceremonial and Art," pp. 248 and 251. Concerning the Prophet's aversion to saffron-dyed clothing and to clothing dyed with *wars*, a saffron substitute, see Chapter One above and the sources cited in nos. 53 and 57.

¹⁶ See R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Mafjar: An Arabian Mansion in the Jordan Valley* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1959), Pl. XXXVI, nos. 1-4 and 6-7.

the throne on which the ruler sat (Pl. 4).¹⁷ One satirical poem by the poet and court jester Abū Dulāma (died 776/160 A.H. or 786/170 A. H.) describes the tall *qalansuwa* on people's skulls as looking like "the wine jars of Jews wrapped in cloaks (*barānis*)."¹⁸

The shorter *qalansuwa* was apparently also worn by the Umayyads. A dirham of 'Abd al-Malik, struck in Damascus in 695, depicts the caliph wearing such a hat, and the pious 'Umar II is mentioned as having worn a *kumma*, a round variant of the *qalansuwa*. The *kumma* and the shorter *qalansuwa* made of either fur (particularly fox) or cloth and with a winding cloth could form part of a compound turban.¹⁹

In addition to the *qalansuwa*, a low crown or coronet (*tāj*) was also worn as a royal insigne. The caliphal figure from Qaṣr al-Hayr al-Gharbī wears such a crenelated crown.²⁰ Despite the generally negative attitude of later Islam against such symbols of temporal kingship (*mulk*), such crowns continued to be shown adorning the head of rulers (though usually not caliphs) well into the Middle Ages.²¹

Still another crown in Umayyad artistic depictions of the ruler is the Persian one. Coins struck in early Islamic Iran prior to 'Abd al-Malik's reform of the coinage in 696 depict the caliph wearing the elaborate winged crown of the shahs. However, since these coins were simply Sasanian prototypes with added Arabic inscriptions, it may be that such headgear was never actually worn by the Umayyads.

¹⁷ al-Mas'ūdī, *Mu'rij al-Dhahab* V, p. 400. For artistic representations of the royal *qalansuwa*, see Richard Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic World: Three Modes of Artistic Influence* (L. A. Mayer Memorial Studies in Islamic Art and Archaeology III) (Brill: Leiden, 1972), pp. 28-34 (and the numerous sources cited there); 23, Fig. E and Pls. XVII, Fig. 60; XIX, Figs. 65-67; and XX, Figs. 68-69.

¹⁸ al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa 'l-Mulūk* III:1, p. 371.

¹⁹ For the coin of 'Abd al-Malik, see Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran*, Pl. XX, fig. 68; for the *kumma* of 'Umar II, see n. 7 above; for the materials out of which a *qalansuwa* was made, see Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* VI, p. 196 and VII:2, p. 25.

²⁰ Daniel Schlumberger, "Les fouilles de Qasr el-Heir el-Gharbi (1936-1938)," *Syria* 20:4 (1939), Pl. XLV, 3 (between pp. 330 and 331).

²¹ See for example the medallion struck in 975 by the Büyid amīr 'Izz al-Dawla in which he is depicted in the royal pose holding a goblet, flanked on either side by an attendant, and on his head a crenelated *tāj*, in the collection of the Museum of Ethnography, Ankara, in D. and J. Sourdel, *La civilisation de l'Islam classique* (Arthaud: Paris, 1968), illus. 29.

yads. The decorative motif of the Sasanian royal crown did, however, figure into Umayyad art and can be seen worked into the vase and floral decorations of the mosaics adorning the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem where it was used as a declaration of Islam's universal dominion.²²

Arabic literary references to female attire during the Umayyad period are much scantier than for male. However, three of the pleasure palaces of the Umayyad dynasty, Khirbat al-Mafjar, Quṣayr ‘Amra, and Qaṣr al-Hayr al-Gharbī are richly decorated with female representations in stucco sculpture and frescoes—clad, semiclad, and unclad. The plump, goggle-eyed, curly-haired female statues in Khirbat al-Mafjar, probably representing the houris of Paradise or slave-girls of the harem rather than noblewomen of the caliphal family, wear only an *izār* around the waist or an *izār* with *sirwāl* extending from beneath it to the ankles. It is three-quarter length from just below the navel to mid-calf which is in accordance with the principle of later Islamic law that ‘*awra*, the pudenda or modesty zone, is “that which is between the navel and the knees.”²³ The skirt on these statues is striped with red, pink, black and white. The fold where the two ends overlap is directly in front displaying the decorated border with a fretted design which also runs along the lower hem. The skirt seems to be rolled over at the waist, perhaps over a *tikka*, or draw-string. Some of the statues wear a heavy braided necklace with a large round or crescent-shaped pendant as well as bracelets on the upper arms. Some also have a headband (‘*ışāba*) with a large central medallion in the shape of an eight-petaled flower.²⁴

A fully clothed woman is depicted in a mural from Quṣayr ‘Amra.

²² For the early Umayyad dirham from Cabinet des médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, see D. and J. Sourdel, *La civilisation de l'Islam classique*, Ill. 22 (between pp. 104-105); for the Sasanian crown motif in the Dome of the Rock and its interpretation, see Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Skira: Lausanne, 1962), pp. 20-22 and the illustrations on pp. 21 and 23.

²³ See Shiu-Sian Angel Hsu, “Dress in Islam: Looking and Touching in Ḥanafi Fiqh,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1994), *passim*. Interestingly, in several schools of law there is the opinion that for slavegirls the breast is not considered ‘*awra*, whereas for free women, it is (*ibid.*, pp. 24-28). This would give further probability to the identification of these Umayyad statues with female servants rather than free women.

²⁴ Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Mafjar*, Pls. LV, nos. 2-3 and LVI, nos. 4-9.

She wears a flowing blue tunic, probably a *thawb*, with a small, round opening for the neck. The tapered sleeves of the garment are three-quarter length.²⁵ Other female figures who stand in attendance in the Qusayr ‘Amra murals wear sleeveless full-length dresses (perhaps a *ghilāla*) that follow the contours of the body. The opening for the neck is boat-shaped. All of these women wear necklaces and a head veil that falls below the shoulders. Yet a third series of women appear at first glance to be naked above the waist like the Khirbat al-Mafjar statues, except for a cord that crosses over and under the bust. But as Patricia Baker has pointed out, closer examination reveals “details suggesting a transparent blouse or jacket form, with tight sleeves to the elbow.”²⁶ Extremely sheer Egyptian linens, called *qassī* and *qubātī*, which revealed the body contours of the wearer, had been available in the early *umma*, and according to a very late medieval legal source, the second caliph ‘Umar prohibited women from wearing garments made of such revealing fabrics. Although this report from Mamluk times is completely consonant with early Islam’s and the Caliph ‘Umar’s puritanism, it is not corroborated by any earlier sources and ought to be considered doubtful.²⁷

It is, of course, impossible to say with certainty how much the very Hellenistic-looking clothing depicted at Qusayr ‘Amra actually represents Arab dress in the cities and towns of the Levant in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. It could be argued that they reflect early Eastern Hellenistic prototypes in the artistic tradition of the Syrian craftsmen—most likely Christians—who executed them. However, after two or three generations of Arab occupation, the process of osmosis was probably well underway across ethnic boundaries in the Caliphate, and particularly in Syria with its large Arab population. The amalgamation of Arabian, Hellenistic, and Iranian

²⁵ Martín Almagro Basch, *Qusayr ‘Amra: residencia y baños omeyas en el desierto de Jordania* (Ministerio de Asunto Exteriores, Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales: Madrid, 1975), Pl. VIb.

²⁶ Baker, “Islamic Court Dress,” p. 51.

²⁷ R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles: Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest* (Librairie du Liban: Beirut, 1972), pp. 161-162, n. 195. ‘Umar’s ban is mentioned by the fourteenth-century Mālikī jurist Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Hājj, *al-Madkhal* (Al-Maṭba’ah al-Miṣriyah bil Azhar: Cairo, 1969/1348), [*Madkhal al-Shar‘ al-Sharīf* I (Cairo, 1933)], p. 242.

modes of dress was progressing toward what would eventually become the Islamic vestimentary system.

Two of the most significant phenomena of Islamic costume history originate in the Umayyad period—the sumptuary laws requiring, *inter alia*, distinguishing clothing for the non-Muslim subject population, and the production of regal embroidered fabrics for clothing. These two subjects will be treated more fully in separate chapters (Chapters Five and Six), but a brief discussion is necessary here.

Early Attempts at Differentiating Muslim and Non-Muslim Dress

The laws of differentiation or *ghiyār* most probably do not go back in any detail to the time of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the putative author of the document known as the Pact of 'Umar, other than a blanket prohibition on the conquered people from trying to dress like their conquerors, since at that early period the *ahl al-dhimma*, or tolerated non-Muslim subjects, and the Arabs did not dress alike anyway. Certainly the primary reasons for this general prohibition were those of security and maintenance of a social hierarchy. Although these laws were to be minutely detailed and vigorously and consistently enforced only in later centuries, they go back in general outline as well as in spirit, at least, to the caliphate of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. *Dhimmīs* were forbidden to wear Arab-style headgear, including the *'imāma*, *'aṣb*, and *taylasān*, Arab military dress, and certain robes, as for example, the *qabā'*. They also had to wear a distinguishing belt called *minṭaq* and more frequently *zunnār* (cf. Greek *zonārion*). This ordinance may have applied at first only to the more numerous Christians and thereafter were extended to the Jews, Zoroastrians, and tiny groups such as the Sabaeans.

Early regulations requiring differentiation in dress also forbade the Arab warriors on duty in the Persian territories of the Empire from donning Iranian clothing, even though as noted above, the Umayyad caliphs had adopted certain elements of Sasanian court costume for themselves and their entourage. Soldiers who put on the Persian cuirass (*khaftān*) and leggings (*rān*) were reportedly punished.²⁸ The

²⁸ B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Otto Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 1952), p. 515.

ban prohibiting Arab militia men from wearing Persian-style clothing was certainly intended originally as a security measure, while later attempts to enforce it were meant to stem the rising tide of assimilation in the eastern provinces. Such attempts proved futile, however. By the end of the Umayyad period, the Arabs who had settled in Khurasan were becoming increasingly assimilated into the local culture, and, it may be assumed, had adopted many elements of native attire which was part and parcel of the continuing fusion of Persian modes into the evolving Islamic vestimentary system.

The Beginnings of the Institutions of Khil'a and Tirāz

The production of special embroidered fabrics in palace textile factories also began in Umayyad times and became a standard feature of medieval Islamic material culture. The fabrics were known as *tirāz*, which in its narrowest sense meant “embroidery”, especially embroidered bands with writing in them, and in a wider sense, indicated an elaborately embroidered robe, such as might be worn by a ruler or his entourage. As already noted, ‘Abd al-Malik was reported to have worn embroidered garments.

Tirāz garments were bestowed as tokens of royal favor. Al-Walīd II is often reported as bestowing his own robes to those he wished to honor—frequently poets and musicians. However, the contexts in which he is described as making the gifts are usually casual, even whimsical, and have none of the formality of institutionalized presentation, nor are the garments described as *khila'* (sing. *khil'a*), or specially fabricated robes of honor.²⁹ *Tirāz* garments and fabrics were also among the standard gifts brought by diplomatic embassies to other rulers as part of foreign policy. In the view of many scholars, the Umayyads most likely took over Byzantine state factory establish-

²⁹ See for example the humorous passage in *Kitāb al-Aghānī* describing al-Walīd's casting off his embroidered robe for the singer Abū Hārūn ‘Aṭarrad and another from the *Muṭūj al-Dhahab* in which he strips naked before the musician Muhammad b. ‘A’isha, heaps his clothes upon him, kneels, and covers his body with kisses (translated in Hillenbrand, “*La Dolce Vita* in Early Islamic Syria,” pp. 12-13 and 19-20, respectively).

ments and adapted them to their special needs and tastes.³⁰ However, most mediaeval Arab historians believed the production of *tirāz* garments to be derived from a Persian institution, and there is some evidence that garments with royal insignia were worn in Sasanian times.³¹ The truth as to the origins of the *tirāz* system would seem to combine both views.

The first Umayyad caliph who is specifically mentioned in the Arabic sources as having had *tirāz* factories was Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, although from the context of these references, these were already established institutions.³² In any event, it is clear that by late Umayyad times the *tirāz* system extended across the caliphate, and continued to flourish under the 'Abbasids, Buyids and Saljuqs.

The Emergence and Consolidation of an Islamic Fashion under the 'Abbasids

With the rise of the 'Abbasid dynasty in 750/132 A.H., conditions became more favorable for the rapid evolution of a new, cosmopolitan, Islamic fashion that combined elements of the three vestimentary systems that were incorporated into the vast expanse of the Dār al-Islām—the Arab, the Irano-Turkic, and the Hellenistic Mediterranean. A number of factors fostered this evolution. Among these factors were: the ever-increasing numbers of non-Arab Muslims (*mawālī*), the decline of Arab social superiority, the transferal of the center of the empire from Syria to Iraq, and the founding of a totally new capital at Baghdad which became the great metropolis of the medieval Islamic *oikoumene* and played a role comparable to that of Alexandria in the earlier Hellenistic world. Two other very significant factors were the emergence of the Persian *kātib*, or secretarial, class as cultural trend setters and arbiters of taste and the growth of the bourgeoisie that comprised not only Arabs and *mawālī*, but non-Muslims as well.

³⁰ Thus for example, Ernst Kühnel and Louise Bellinger, *Catalogue of Dated Tiraz Fabrics* (The Textile Museum: Washington, 1952), p. 1.

³¹ See S. D. Goitein, "Petitions to Fatimid Caliphs from the Cairo Geniza," *JQR*, n.s., 45 (1954-1955), pp. 34-35, where talmudic evidence is cited.

³² al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzara' wa 'l-Kuttāb*, ed. M. al-Saqqā', I. al-Abyārī, and A.H. Shalibī (Māṭba'at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī: Cairo, 1938), p. 60.

The development of a new Islamic fashion did not take place instantaneously in the wake of the Abbasid revolution. The change of dynasties and the other concomitant factors that were just mentioned, gave added impetus and greatly hastened the process. The evolution, however, had been taking place during the preceding period. As we have already seen, the Marwānid Umayyads, starting with 'Abd al-Malik, had begun to have a more imperial caliphate and wore regal garments inspired by the royal attire of the Byzantine and Sasanian courts. However, it does not seem that these costumes from the two very different vestimentary systems of the peoples conquered by the Arabs had yet been integrated into a holistic new style. Furthermore, for the Umayyads, the wearing of luxury garments and Iranian fashions were primarily a private indulgence, and not for display beyond the confines of their desert palaces, since they had cultivated the public image of the oldtime Arab desert *sayyid*. The Abbasids, on the other hand, made public use of special clothing. The second Abbasid caliph and founder of Baghdad, al-Manṣūr, is supposed to have instituted the custom of wearing black robes on official occasions. He is also supposed to have adopted more elements of Persian court dress, not only for himself and the members of his immediate entourage, but for the entire court. It was al-Manṣūr, it will be recalled, that ordered courtiers and officials to don the *qalansuwa ṭawila*, prompting the poet Abū Dulāma to remark sarcastically, "We had been hoping for an increase [of largesse] from a [new] Imam, but the chosen Imam only increased the *qalansuwas*."³³ Al-Manṣūr, who instituted so much 'Abbasid practice and protocol, also appears to have been responsible for instituting the practice of donning for certain ceremonies a simple woolen cloak (*burda*) that had supposedly belonged to the Prophet himself. This was intended to be an obvious symbol of the charisma and legitimacy of the House of 'Abbās and a reminder of its familial relationship to the Prophet himself through his uncle.³⁴

Under the 'Abbasids, the custom of bestowing robes of honor (*khil'a*) upon anyone the government wished to favor was an almost daily occurrence, and the caliph's entourage came to be known as the

³³ al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa ʔ-l-Mulūk* III, part 1, p. 371.

³⁴ al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa ʔ-l-Mulūk* III, pp. 1012-1013.

ashāb al-khil'a, or “those who wear the *khil'a*”. Presenting an official with a *khil'a* became the standard act of investiture, whether it be for the caliphal heir, a vizier, or a provincial governor (see Pl. 5).³⁵ The 'Abbasid caliphs maintained huge wardrobes, and fine clothes and luxurious textiles also formed an important element of the state's assets. Thousands of garments are listed among the annual treasury receipts under Hārūn al-Rashīd (ruled 786-809/170-193 A.H.).³⁶ Upon the latter's death, his son al-Amīn had an inventory taken of clothing, furnishings, vessels, and equipment in the caliphal storehouses. The clothes included: 4000 embroidered *qabā's*, 4000 *ridā's* of silk lined with sable, mink, and other furs, 10,000 *qamīṣes* and *ghilālas*, 10,000 *khaftāns*, 2000 pair of *sirwāl* of different kinds, 4000 *'imāmas*, 1000 hoods, 1000 capes of different kinds, 5000 kerchiefs of different kinds, 1000 special suits of armor, 50,000 ordinary suits of armor, 10,000 helmets, 4000 pair of *khuff*, most of which were lined with sable, mink, and other furs, 4000 pair of *jawrab* (stockings).³⁷

With the rise of the bourgeoisie during the 'Abbasid period and the dissemination of the polite and urbane educational ideal of *adab* by the Persian secretarial class, many new garments and fabrics came into general use, and cultured people became ever more fashion-minded and concerned about their appearance. The tenth-century geographer al-Muqaddasī specifically mentions a love of fashion as one of the characteristics of the people of Iraq.³⁸ The language of fashion became more refined. Underclothing was designated *shī'ār* and outerwear *dīthār*. The early aversion to silks and satins was forgotten or ignored by all but a pious few, and only the most ascetic and the poor wore the rough woollen robe known as the *khirqa* (the later use of this word to designate “rag” or “dishcloth” is instructive). Another wool garment worn only by the very poor was the sleeved tunic known as

³⁵ For a *khil'a* being given to signify the status of heir apparent, see al-Mas'ūdī, *Mu'jiz al-Dhahab* VII, p. 365; for the investiture of a vizier, see Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Ta'rikh al-Wuzara'*, ed. A. Amedroz (n.p.: Beirut, 1904), p. 176; for investiture of a provincial governor, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa 'l-Mulūk* III, p. 2194.

³⁶ al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzara'*, pp. 179-182.

³⁷ Ibn al-Zubayr, *Kitāb al-Dhakha'ir wa 'l-Tuhaf* (Dā'irat al-Maṭbū'āt wa 'l-Nashr: Kuwait, 1959), pp. 214-218.

³⁸ al-Muqaddasī, *Ahsan al-Taqāṣīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm*, ed. M. J. De Goeje (Brill: Leiden, 1906), p. 129.

midra‘a. Cultured gentlemen and ladies, on the other hand, were very much concerned with their appearance. The *adīb* Abu l-Tayyib Muḥammad al-Washshā’ (d. 936/325) devoted several chapters of his book *On Elegance and Elegant People* to describing the types of clothing worn by his contemporaries, as well as the acceptable canons of taste for the refined.

The fashionable man, according to al-Washshā’, outfitted himself in several layers of clothing, beginning with a fine undershirt (*ghilāla*), over which was worn the heavier, lined (*mubaṭṭan*) *qamīṣ*. Both of these ought to be of fine linen, such as *dabīqī* or *jannābī* (produced in Egypt and Fars, respectively). Over these tunics was worn a Barajirdi or Alexandrian lined robe (*durrā’*) or a Nishapur *jubba* of linen, silk, or *mulḥam* (a fabric with a silk warp and a woof of some other stuff). Finally, when going out, the fashion plate would drape over these his Adeni *ridā’* or another cloak known as *mitraf* (also *muṭraf*) from Sus which had decorative borders at each end (*muḥashshāt*) and cover his head, or turban rather, with a Nishapur *taylasān* of *mulḥam*, which at this time was probably a cowl. Cotton *mitrafs* and ones made of Armenian textiles decorated with figures (*al-manqūsha al-armaniyya*) were also considered fashionable outerwear.

Making a good appearance also meant not wearing unpleasant or clashing colors. Saffron and yellow were singled out by al-Washshā’ as colors to be avoided. A fashion plate should never wear dirty clothes, or new garments together with washed ones, or linen with certain cottons, or clothes perfumed with ambergris like those of slave girls. The scents worn by a bon vivant included powdered musk, rose water solution, ambergris tinctured aloeswood soaked in fermented clove water, royal *nadd* (a compounded scent that included aloeswood, musk, and ambergris), and ‘*abīr* (a compound containing saffron).

Shoes and sandals could be of any of a number of leathers, colors, and designs. Elegant footwear included East African sandals (*al-niṣāl al-zanjīyya*),³⁹ thick shoes from Cambay in India, Yemeni furry shoes (*musha‘ara*), fine sandals (*al-hadhw al-līṭāf*), light checkered shoes (*al-mukhattama al-khīfāf*), Hāshimī boots (*al-khīfāf al-hāshimīyya*), and the

³⁹ Reading, as does Serjeant, *zanjīyya* for *zījīyya*. See Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, p. 214, n. 16.

curved shoes of the secretarial class (*al-maksūra al-kuttābiyya*).⁴⁰ It was permissible to wear shoes in such color combinations as black and red and yellow and black. Boots of red leather or black leather are also stylish. The wearing of stockings (*jawrab*, from Pers. *gūrab*) of *khazz* and *qazz* silk and goat's wool, a fashion adopted from the Persians, was by now well-established.

One accessory not to be neglected by the well-dressed gentleman was the *tikka*, or drawstring for the *sirwāl*. These were to be of the finest silks such as *ibrīsim* and *khazz*.⁴¹ This little item appeared from time to time in medieval Arabic romantic literature. A lady might send her *tikka* to an admirer as a token of affection, just as in European romances a maiden might send a knight her scarf or handkerchief. In the *Thousand and One Nights*, the *tikka* appears in several extremely erotic and risqué passages.⁴²

Al-Washshā' does not provide as much detail in his chapter on female attire which is devoted specifically to "those clothes which differ from those of fashionable men." (As in earlier and later times, many items of clothing were worn by members of both sexes.) The elegant woman's lingerie consisted of a smoky-grey colored *ghilāla* (*ghilāla dukhāniyya*) and *sirwāl*. White garments of any kind—except for the *sirwāl*—were considered masculine and were to be avoided. However, undyed natural color linen was permissible. Exactly what kind of dress was worn over the undergarments at this time is not specified. Al-Washshā' does mention, however, that it should be wide-sleeved (*akmām maftūha*) and that the collar should have a drawstring (*wa 'l-jurrubānāt al-mukhāniyya*). For her wraps, the woman was to wear a *Rashīdī* or a *Ṭabarī ridā'* (from Rosetta and Tabaristan, respectively). She might then totally envelop herself in a *Khurasānī izār* of *mulham*. On her head she wore a black *mījar*, which seems to have been the female equivalent of the *'imāma* both in form and use. Black was particularly stylish at this time. The *mījar* was worn to-

⁴⁰ Reading *kuttābiyya* for *kuttāniyya*.

⁴¹ al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā aw al-Ẓarf wa 'l-Ẓurafā'* (Maṭba'at al-I'timād: Cairo, 1953/1372), pp. 160-162.

⁴² See the passages cited in Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms de vêtements chez les arabes* (Jean Müller: Amsterdam, 1845), pp. 96-97. In true nineteenth-century modesty, one of the passages is translated only into Latin.

gether with a face veil (*miqna'a* or *miqna'*). The Nishapur *miqna'a* was held in particular esteem.

Al-Washshā' does give more detail with regard to fabrics and colors for female attire. The outer mantles could be of striped or banded fine linen (*shurūb muzannara*) or of colored *qaṣab* (a fine line decorated with gold or silver) adorned with roundels of silk embroidery (*haṭṭīr mu'ayyan*). Women ought not to wear yellow, black, green, pink, or red, except for fabrics that are naturally those colors, such as *lādh* (a red silk), regular silk (*haṭṭīr*), *qazz*, brocade (*dībāq*), and *wāshy* (variegated silk). The proscribed colors were only worn by Nabatean (i.e., non-Muslim peasants) women, singing servant girls, or in the case of white by abandoned women and of iron-black and blue, by women in mourning or distress.

Women's clothing could be perfumed with varieties of musk, sandalwood, hyacinth or ambergris, but not other perfumes. Neither should they be scented by merely sprinkling (*wa-tā shay' min al-marshūsh*), which probably meant that the garments should be impregnated with scent.

The elegant woman's footwear included furry Cambay shoes dyed green, boots in the style of Persian ladies (*al-khīfāf al-zanāniyya*), curved shoes, and Edessa style shoes. al-Washshā' does not mention female footwear studded with gemstones. However, it is reported by al-Mas'ūdī that Sitt Zubayda, the wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd initiated this fashion.⁴³

Although at first al-Washshā' says that stylish women ought not to wear a *tikka*, he then says that they share with men the wearing of *ibrīsim tikkas* and also *qazz* ones, but not woven brocade ones or ones of braided fine linen and silk (*sharrābāt al-ibrīsimiyya*), nor wide belts (*al-zanānīr al-'irād*).⁴⁴

Just as evening dresses and dinner jackets were absolutely *de rigueur* in nineteenth and twentieth-century European high society, so too formal wear was required for the socialites of 'Abbasid Baghdad. At a drinking party (*majlis al-sharāb*), gentlemen were expected to wear the so-called "clothes of boon companionship" (*thiyāb al-munādama*). These consisted of a fine *ghilāla*, over which were worn a silk *qamīṣ*,

⁴³ al-Mas'ūdī, *Murij al-Dhahab* VIII, pp. 298-299.

⁴⁴ al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā'*, pp. 163-164.

and a bright *mulā'a*. Members of the royal entourage (*ashāb al-khilā'a*) had special “convivial robes of honor” which included an ‘imāma of gilded *washy*, a lined *ghilāla*, and a *durrā'a* (a long ample robe slit in front, with wide long sleeves leaving part of the arm uncovered) of fine Dabīqī linen. To come to a party dressed in anything else was considered an unacceptable faux pas.⁴⁵

Persian cultural influences became more pronounced under the ‘Abbasids. Baghdad was located very pointedly near the ruins of the Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon, and refined Persian civil servants filled the bureaucracy and set the fashion trends in high society. As already mentioned, Persian garments such as *sirwāl*, *jawrab*, and the *qalansuwa tawīla* became widely popular. The Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd was apparently not pleased that this hat that had once been a symbol of royalty had come into such common use and forbade ordinary people from wearing it. He himself supposedly wore one inscribed on one side with the word *ghāzī* and on the other with *hājj* (fighter of the holy war and pilgrim), noting the duties that he undertook on alternating years of leading the war against Byzantium and the pilgrimage to Mecca. Only years later, his son and third successor al-Mu'taṣim (ruled 833-42/218-227 A.H.) allowed its reintroduction for general wear.⁴⁶

Another Persian garment which was introduced during the ‘Abbasid period and which became extremely popular throughout the Arab world is the *khaftān*, a fine robe with sleeves that buttons down the front (the original Persian word designates a cuirass). The caliph al-Muqtadir (ruled 908-932/295-320 A.H.) wore a *khaftān* of Tustarī silk brocaded with silver when he set out on his fatal march against the rebel Mu'nis in 932/320.⁴⁷ Since the later Middle Ages, the form *qaftān* (variant *quftān*) has been used exclusively throughout the Arabic-speaking world, due to the influence of Turkish, and it is from the latter that the word entered European languages as caftan.

⁴⁵ See Muhammad Manazir Ahsan, *Social Life Under the Abbasids: 170-289 AH, 786-902 AD* (Longman: London and New York, 1979), p. 56 and the sources cited there.

⁴⁶ al-Jāhīz, *Kitāb al-Bayān* I (al-Maṭba'ah al-Ilmiyyah: Cairo, 1893/1313), pp. 41-42; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa 'l-Mulūk* III, p. 709; al-Maṣ'ūdī, *Murij al-Dhahab* VIII, p. 302.

⁴⁷ Dozy, *Vêtements*, 162-163; Levy, “Notes on Costume from Arabic Sources,” pp. 331-332, and the sources cited by both.

Dress Protocol at the 'Abbasid Court

Court protocol in part based upon Persian models became highly refined under the 'Abbasids. In addition to his official black robe and black turban, the caliphs at court wore red boots, a symbol of royalty during the Sasanian period. An eleventh-century manual on court protocol by the government secretary Hilāl al-Şābi' describes as follows the dress of those appearing before the caliph who was seated on a raised throne on a dais completely covered with either *armanī* (fine Armenian red wool) or *khazz*-silk:

As to 'Abassids of rank—their attire is the black *qabā'* of family members and *khuff*. They are differentiated by the kind of military belt and sword that they wear and in the way that they are worn. However, those among them who have been appointed to judgeships may wear the *taylasān*. Judges from the capital and those from major cities and towns who are entitled to wear black are to appear dressed in a *gamīṣ*, *taylasān*, *danniyya*, or a *qarqafā* (an Aramaean-style *qalansuwa*).⁴⁸ The *danniyya* and the *qarqafā*, however, have been abandoned nowadays in favor of the glossy black *'imāma*. Some people have gone so far as to wear *qaṣab* (linen decorated with gold or silver) garments with black *khazz*-silk embroidery. But in my opinion, *qaṣab* should only be worn without embroidery. Descendants of the Anṣār (the Medinese supporters of Muhammad) should wear yellow garments and turbans. However, these days, there are no great personages left from among them. As for the military commanders and officers—their attire is every sort of black *qabā'* and turbans as have been described. Their footwear consists of black stockings (*jawārib*) and *lālakāt* (a type of shoe) tied with straps (*zanānīr*). These are the rules that had to be observed. Those of lower rank are prohibited from wearing black, but are free to choose other colors, so long as they do not abandon all restraint, indulge in vulgarity, and forget the primary rules of etiquette.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *Qarqaf*, *qarqafā* in Aramaic means “skull” or “head.” See Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* II (Pardes Publishing House: New York, 1950), p. 1426.

⁴⁹ Hilāl al-Şābi', *Rusūm Dār al-Khilāfā*, ed. M. 'Awwād (Matba'at al-'Anī: Baghdad, 1964/1383), pp. 91-92. For a slightly different English translation, see *idem.*, *Rusūm Dār al-Khilāfā (The Rules and Regulations of the 'Abbasid Court)*, tr. Elie A. Salem (American University of Beirut: Beirut, 1977), p. 74.

The Economics of Clothing

Fine garments were brought to Baghdad from all over the Muslim world, as well as being imported from abroad. From India came the *fūṭa*, a long piece of sari-like cloth which served a variety of functions: as a loincloth, apron, and a variety of headgear.⁵⁰ From China during this period there came oilcloth raincloaks.⁵¹

In addition to the ceremonial and political function of clothing, there was its economic importance. Textile production was clearly the major industry of the medieval Muslim world. S.D. Goitein compared its place in the economy of the period “to the place of steel and other metals in [the] modern economy.” Or as Maurice Lombard succinctly put it (referring to medieval Islam), “Les tissus sont la grosse affaire.”⁵² Even today, commerce in textiles and clothing has a place of honor in traditional Islamic countries, and the *qaysariyya*, or textile bazaar, is centrally located in any *sūq*.

Fine garments for men in 9th/3rd-century Iraq ranged in price from 5-30 dinars, and even more. Even an average quality *qamīṣ* cost around two dinars (a laborer at the time earned between one half and one and a half dinars per month), whereas two centuries earlier at the time of the Arab conquest of Iraq it had cost a mere two dirhams.⁵³ However, some of the prices cited by Arab writers for fabulous garments and fabrics are clearly anecdotal, as for example, the 50,000 dinars that al-Khayzurān, the mother of the caliphs al-Hādī and

⁵⁰ See Yedida K. Stillman, “Female Attire of Medieval Egypt: According to the Troussseau Lists and Cognate Material from the Cairo Geniza,” (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, 1972) pp. 214-216.

⁵¹ al-Thā’alabī, *Latā’if al-mā’ārif* (Dār Ihyā’ al-Kutub al-‘Amīyya: Cairo, 1960), p. 221; C. E. Bosworth, tr. *The Latā’if al-mā’ārif of Thā’alibī: The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information* (Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh, 1968), p. 141; Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, p. 390.

⁵² S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* I, (University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), p. 101; Maurice Lombard, *Les textiles dans le monde musulman du VII^e au XII^e siècle* (Mouton: Paris, The Hague, and New York, 1978), p. 15.

⁵³ For the ninth/third century price, see Ahsan, *Social Life Under the Abbasids*, p. 71; for the time of the conquest, see Eliyahu Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l’Orient médiéval* (S.E.V.P.E.N.: Paris, 1969), p. 53; and for the laborer’s salary, *ibid.*, pp. 53 and 465; and *idem*, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976), p. 154.

Hārūn al-Rashīd, is reported to have paid for a piece of *washy*.⁵⁴ Still, it is quite apparent both from the literary and documentary sources that throughout the Middle Ages clothing was very costly in comparison with the other necessities of life and was considered real property. As S. D. Goitein observed, "Clothing formed part—sometimes a considerable part—of a family's investment, being transmitted from parents to children, to be converted into cash in case of emergency."⁵⁵ Indeed, fine clothing could be converted to cash often far more easily than real estate. It should be noted that the economic significance of garments, their intergenerational transference, and their ready liquidity are all observable features of the vestimentary system in many traditional societies within the Arabic-speaking world up to modern times.⁵⁶

The Clothing of Commoners and Various Social Groups

The clothing of the common folk was generally shorter than that of the elite. Some physical laborers are depicted in illuminated manuscripts dressed only in *sirwāl*, or *sirwāl* and a short mantle such as a *shamla*, a *kisā'*, or *milhafa*.⁵⁷ Sailors, fishmongers, and bathhouse attendants worked only in *tubbān*, or briefs. Workers who did wear a tunic of some sort often wore only knee-length ones.⁵⁸ The Bedouin and

⁵⁴ al-Mas'ūdī, *Murij al-Dhahab* VIII, p. 298.

⁵⁵ Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* I, p. 101.

⁵⁶ On clothing as a family investment, see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* IV, pp. 189-190. For modern parallels, see Yedida K. Stillman, *Palestinian Costume and Jewelry* (University of New Mexico Press: Albuquerque, 1979), pp. 33, 34, 38, 39, 53, 62, *et passim*; also *eadem*, "The Costume of the Jewish Woman in Morocco," in *Studies in Jewish Folklore*, ed. F. Talmage (Association for Jewish Studies: Cambridge, Mass., 1980), p. 352.

⁵⁷ See for example the agriculture workers and gardeners depicted in the twelfth-century manuscript of Pseudo-Galen, *Kitāb al-Diryāq* Bibliothèque Nationale MS arabe 2964, in Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, pp. 84-85.

⁵⁸ See for example, the illuminations of a man driving a yoked pair of oxen around a water wheel and another ladling a soup pot in the al-Wāsiṭī manuscript of al-Harīrī's *Maqāmāt*, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. arabe 5847 (Schefer Harīrī), in Tharūt 'Akāsha, *Fann al-Wāsiṭī min khilāl Maqāmat al-Harīrī: Athār Islāmī Muṣawwar* (Dār al-Shurūq: Cairo, 1992), pp. 97 and 139. In the latter illustration, another man who is slaughtering a camel has pulled up his robe all the way to his shoulders

the poor wore for outer clothing a simple *qamīṣ* or *jubba* and in cold weather one of the abovementioned wraps or a wool ‘*abā*’ which was a sleeveless, square-cut, mantle-like coat open in front. Wearing a *qamīṣ* without an undergarment was considered extremely uncouth, hence the deprecating expression “o *qamīṣ* without a *mi’zar*!”⁵⁹ In addition to the *Šūfīs*, the working class habitually wore woolen garments. As an eleventh-century agent disparagingly observes in a letter in which he mentions a workman who refused a light weight *kisā’* sent by their merchant employer, “These people like whatever has wool in it.”⁶⁰

Certain garments came to be associated with one’s profession or status. As already noted the rough woolen robe known as the *khirqa* was the uniform of a *Šūfī*. The *khirqa* was usually composed of at least two or three different colored pieces. Frequently patches were added, or it could be entirely covered with patches. Such a patchwork garment was nicknamed *kabl* (‘shackles’ or ‘fetters’), perhaps because of its weight.⁶¹ The high *qalansuwa* and the black *taylasān* and *ṭarha* head shawl came to be part of the *qāqī*’s uniform. Around the eleventh century, the *qalansuwa* was replaced by the ‘*imāma* as the judge’s headdress. Although the black *taylasān* remained part of the judicial outfit, it could be replaced by another shawl, the *ṭarha* which also came in white (see Pls. 6 and 7 for examples of each).

Although worn by others, the *qabā’* cinched at the waist with a sword belt (*minṭaqā*) was a regular item in a soldier’s attire and remained so throughout much of the Middle Ages together with trousers and leggings (*sāq al-mūṣā*). The élite military corps known as the *abnā’* (or sons of the caliphal household) wore distinguishing *ṭirāz* turbans and coats. The Khorasani troops wore special marks called *bāzbakand* or *bāzfakand* (from the Persian for “hawks nest”) which may have been epaulettes. Officers singled out for distinction might add

and has removed his arms from the sleeves, revealing that he is wearing only *sinwāl* and nothing else beneath the robe.

⁵⁹ Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī, *Kitāb al-Imtā’ wa ’l-Mu’ānasa* II (Lajnat al-Ta’lif wa ’l-Tarjama wa ’l-Nashr: Cairo, 1939-1944), p. 59.

⁶⁰ Cambridge University Library, TS 12.227, translated in Norman A. Stillman, “A Case of Labor Problems in Medieval Egypt,” *IJMES* 5 (1974), p. 199.

⁶¹ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs* (Idārat al-Ṭibā’ā al-Munīriyya: Cairo, 1928), pp. 186-187 and 198; and Ahsan, *Social Life Under the Abbasids*, pp. 58-59.

a ceremonial collar (*tawq*), a pair of bracelets (*sīwārān*), or a decorated belt (the narrower *minṭaqā* or the wider *wishāḥ* with its repeating pattern of jewels and metal studs). Regular troops wore light brown outer garments over a tunic that was sometimes of satin *aṭlas*). The *sirwāl* might be lined with fur in winter and the leggings could be padded with cotton.⁶²

Imposition of Dress Regulations for Non-Muslims

During the 'Abbasid period, the laws of differentiation (*ghiyār*) regarding the clothing of *dhimmīs* were at times more vigorously enforced. In 850/235, the Caliph al-Mutawakkil issued an edict that Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians be compelled to wear honey-colored *taylasāns* and the *zunnār* belt. He further required that those who wore the *galansuwa* attach to it two identifying buttons. The *galansuwa* itself had to be a different color than those worn by Muslims. If they wore turbans, then these too ought to be honey-colored. Even the slaves of *dhimmīs* had to have identifying clothing. They too had to wear a *zunnār* and were specifically forbidden to wear the *minṭaqā* belt common to soldiers and officials. Their garments had to have a patch four fingers in diameter afixed to the breast and the back. The patches were to be honey-colored and of a different shade than the garment itself. Non-Muslim women were to wear honey-colored *izārs*.⁶³ Four years later, al-Mutawakkil issued additional sartorial regulations aimed specifically at Christians. The latter had to have the forearm section of the sleeves of their coats (*qabā'*) and robes (*durrā'*) made of yellow fabric, presumably a different color from the garment itself.⁶⁴ Al-Mutawakkil's first edict was aimed primarily at placing identifying markers on non-Muslims' clothing when out of doors—namely, head-coverings and mantles. The second edict was to insure that unbeliev-

⁶² Ahsan, *Social Life Under the Abbasids*, pp. 59-61; and Baker, "Islamic Court Dress," pp. 69-72 and p. 103, and the sources cited in both.

⁶³ al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa 'l-Mulūk* III, pp. 1389-1390. The decree is translated in Norman A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands: A History and Source Book* (Jewish Publication Society: Philadelphia, 1979), p. 167.

⁶⁴ al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa 'l-Mulūk* III, p. 1419.

ers would be clearly and immediately identified as such even when indoors.

How long these specific regulations of al-Mutawakkil remained in force in the 'Abbasid east is hard to say. The fact that similar regulations were issued in 907-908/294 during the caliphate of al-Muqtadir would indicate that strict enforcement was short-lived and sporadic.⁶⁵ This subject will be discussed in more detail and in a broader historical context in Chapter Five.

The Apogee of Medieval Haute Couture under the Fatimids

Perhaps no period in the history of the Arab East was more clothes-conscious than that of the Fatimids, who established the great Shi'ite counter-Caliphate in Ifrīqiya in 909/297 and added Egypt to their empire in 969/358—and soon after Palestine, Syria, and the Hijaz as well. Fatimid pomp and ceremony exceeded anything known in Baghdad, and clothing played a major part in creating the splendid effect.⁶⁶

The first Fatimid caliph in Egypt, al-Mu'izz (d. 975/365), founded a special government costume supply house known as the *dār al-kiswa* or *khizānat al-kiswa* with an outlay of more than 600,000 dinars. An official bureau (*dīwān*) oversaw the production, storage, and distribution of costumes. Every official and functionary from the caliph down

⁶⁵ Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī Ta'rikh al-Mulūk wa 'l-Umam* (Maṭba'at al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyya: Hyderabad, 1938-1943), p. 82.

⁶⁶ A number of important studies have been dedicated to Fatimid ceremonies, the most recent and detailed being Paula Sanders, *Ritual, Politics and the City in Fatimid Cairo* (State University of New York Press: Albany, 1994). See also K. A. Inostroznsev, *Toryestvennii vyezd Fatimidiskikh khalifov* ("The Solemn Entry of the Fatimid caliphs"), in *Zapiski Vost. Otdyel. Imp. Russ. Arkheol. Obshchestva*, XVII (St. Petersburg, 1904); M. Ó. Záki, *Kunūz al-Fātimiyyīn* (Matba'at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya: Cairo, 1937); M. Canard, "Le cérémonial fatimite et le cérémonial byzantin: essai de comparaison," in *Byzantium*, 21:2 (1951), pp. 355-420; *idem*, "La procession du nouvel an chez les Fatimides," in *AIEO*, 10 (1952), pp. 364-98; 'A. M. Mājid, *Nuzūm al-Fātimiyyīn wa-rusūmuhum fī Miṣr* II, (Maktabat al-Anjlu al-Miṣriyah: Cairo, 1955). All of the studies contain considerable information on the use of costume in Fatimid ceremonial, and all draw mainly on al-Maqrīzī and to a lesser extent on al-Qalqashandī and on Ibn Taghrībirdī, all three of whom depended upon the lost work of Ibn al-Tuwayr.

to government clerks, their families, and their household retainers, was supplied with a ceremonial costume (*badla mawkibiyya*) for public occasions. According to the Mamluk historian al-Maqrīzī, who drew heavily from the lost work of the late Fatimid/early Ayyubid historian Ibn al-Tuwayr and who is the almost exclusive source of information for Fatimid ceremonial costume, each person was provided with an entire wardrobe “from the turban to the underdrawers’ (*min al-‘imāma ila ’l-sarāwīl*).⁶⁷

The *khizāna* provided different weight clothes and accessories for summer and winter. A complete costume (*badla mukmala*) could consist of as many as a dozen articles. Naturally, these ceremonial costumes were made of the most costly fabrics. The most popular were *harīr* (fine silk), *sūsī*, *dabīqī*, *sharāb*, *dimyātī* (all linens), *khusrawānī* (kingly brocade), and *siqlātūn* (siglaton). Most of the ceremonial costumes were white and embroidered with gold and silver threads in accordance with the official Fatimid imagery of luminous splendour and divine light. The selection of the caliphal costume was itself a ritualised event before every holiday.

Each rank and office was distinguished by its costume. Those with the rank of *amīr*, normally were given garments of honor of *dabīqī* and turbans with gold thread *tirāz* inscriptions. The entire outfit was worth at least 500 dinars. The highest ranking *amīrs* also received embellished collars, arm bands, and swords. The vizier got a jewelled necklace instead of the collar.

The most outstanding item of the caliph’s attire was his enormous turban which consisted of a cap (*shāshiyya*) around which was wound a *mandīl* in a fashion unique for the ruler in the shape of a myrobalan (*al-ahālījā*), an ellipsoid Indian fruit. This special manner of winding the caliphal turban, which according to al-Maqrīzī was hitherto unknown, was called “the winding of majesty” (*shaddat al-waqār*). The eunuch who had the responsibility of doing the winding was a particularly distinguished retainer “because he touched that which was placed on top of the caliphal crown.” The entire turban was ornamented with jewels. An enormous solitaire (*yaftūma*) mounted on a silk band was centered on the caliph’s forehead. The entire headgear was

⁶⁷ al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā’iz wa ’l-Itibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭāṭ wa ’l-Athār* I (Būlāq Press: Cairo, 1853), pp. 409-413.

called “the noble crown” (*al-tāj al-sharīf*).⁶⁸ This unusual turban may perhaps be the one worn by an equestrian figure on a Fatimid lustre ware bowl now in the Bardo Museum in Tunis (see Pl. 8).

The rest of the imperial retinue wore a variety of less splendid headdresses. The chief eunuchs of the court who were the *amīrs* of the palace, all wore turbans which were distinctively wound under the chin—the so-called *taḥnīk al-imāma* or simply *al-hanak*. Thus, they were known as *al-ustādhūn al-muḥannakūn*. The caliph al-‘Azīz (ruled 975–996/365–386) became the first ruler to appear with the *hanak* and eventually so did the vizier and the *amīrs*. This fashion was introduced into the east by the Fatimids from the Maghreb, where it still may be seen, especially in southern Algeria and Morocco (see Pl. 9).

Another head covering which is first mentioned during this period is the *kalawta* or *kalūta* (cf. Latin *calautica*; French *calotte*, Persian *galūta*) which was a kind of cap. It was to become a standard item in Ayyubid and Mamluk times.

The Geniza: A Unique Source for Islamic Attire in the Fatimid Period

In addition to the literary and artistic sources and the relics of surviving fabrics and garments, there is a unique documentary source for the costume history of the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and—to a lesser extent—the Mamluk periods; namely the papers and papyri of the so-called Cairo Geniza. Discovered a century ago, these manuscripts which totalled some 200,000 items, consisted of discarded books and documents that had been deposited since the Middle Ages mainly in the storeroom of a synagogue in Fustat (Old Cairo) and also in the cemetery of Basatin. Much of the documentary material from the Fatimid to the Mamluk period is in Judeo-Arabic; that is Arabic language written in Hebrew characters.⁶⁹

Of particular importance for our knowledge of clothing in this period are the some 750 trousseau lists (*nedūnyōt*) appended to Jewish marriage contracts (*ketubbōt*) from the Geniza. In combination with

⁶⁸ al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ* I, p. 448.

⁶⁹ For an introduction to the Geniza and the story of its discovery, see Goitein, *Mediterranean Society* I, pp. 1–28.

ancillary Geniza records, these trousseau lists offer a wealth of information on the attire of Jewish women in medieval Egypt, and by extension, the attire of Muslim women as well (see Pl. 10). Information for male costume comes from commercial documents, but is by no means as extensive or as detailed.

One fact stands out clearly from the evidence of the Geniza documents, and that is that Jewish and Muslim women dressed alike during the Fatimid period and the greater part of the Ayyubid period which followed. The Geniza trousseau lists give every indication that with the exception of al-Ḥākim's idiosyncratic reign (discussed in Chapter Five) the restrictive laws of *ghiyār* were not enforced. The same garments are mentioned as in the Islamic sources. There is no limitation in the Geniza as to color (as was imposed briefly under al-Ḥākim and was later the norm in Mamluk times) and textile. Quite to the contrary, there is the greatest variety of hues and diversity of fabrics. Jewish women, like their Muslim counterparts (and most likely Copts as well) went out veiled in public.

The Geniza documents show that the bourgeoisie consciously or unconsciously tried to imitate the modes and mores of the ruling class. Merchants, for example, bestowed *khila'* and *tirāz* garments upon relatives and friends. For example, in a contract of betrothal (*sheṭar ērūsīn*), the groom-to-be promises to give his bride a robe of honor on their marriage night.⁷⁰ In a letter written while on a business trip to India, a merchant orders as a gift for his beloved son a *tirāz* turban of fine *dabīqī* linen with the young man's name embroidered on it.⁷¹ People of means wore all the precious fabrics known to us from the descriptions of the Fatimid ceremonies, such as *khusrāwānī* and the iridescent *qalamūnī* (also known as *bū qalamūn*), which the eleventh-century Persian traveler, Nāṣir-i Khosraw, considered one of the marvels of Egypt.⁷²

Over sixty fabrics are mentioned in the Geniza. Of these, forty-six

⁷⁰ Cambridge University Library TS 8 J 9, f. 9: *wa-an yadfa' lahā 'ind al-dukhūl khil'a.*

⁷¹ Westminster College Cambridge Cairo Misc. f. 9, ll. 19f [No. 50 in Goitein's unfinished *India Book*].

⁷² Nassiri Khosraw, *Sefer Nameh: Relation du voyage*, Charles Schéfer (Ernest Leroux: Paris, 1881), p. 111. Nāṣir-i Khosraw describes it as changing color with the different hours of the day.

are known from the literary sources collected by Serjeant. Among the Geniza fabrics not included in Serjeant's textile history, are: *arjīshī* and *ashrafi* (the first probably and the latter most certainly a cotton), *qābīsī*, *bāwālī*, *lalas*, and *shaqā'iq* (the first probably and the other three definitely varieties of silk), *musafṭaj* (a stiff linen), *hamā'ilī* (a fabric named perhaps for its belt-like designs), *jallāya* (a fabric with a glossy or shiny surface), *muthallath* (literally “triangle” cloth, perhaps a fabric with three different types of thread), and *hāfiżī*, *labkī*, *mišarī*, *qurābūqī*, and *tarh* (all quality fabrics that still await more precise identification).⁷³

Under the Fatimids and Ayyubids, the mercantile class indulged itself in many types of garments. The Geniza trousseaux mention almost seventy items for women alone, and not surprisingly more than half of these are veils and headgear. The Geniza has revealed the names and considerable data for more than two dozen garments which were hitherto unknown or only mentioned in isolated literary sources without any explanation or description. Among these are the *jūkāniyya*, one of the most ubiquitous items in the Geniza trousseaux, but not mentioned in any Arabic dictionary. The sole reference found so far to this robe in Arabic literature is from Ibn al-Jawzī, who under events for the year 441 (1049-1050), mentions a woman taking off a brocade *jūkāniyya* she was wearing and donating it to help pay for the construction of the gate for the Qallā'in Quarter in Baghdad. This sleeved garment which could be of linen, brocade, or silk, came in both simple and lavishly decorated versions. Its name may be derived from the Persian town of Juwakān, although Goitein, after initially reading the Judeo-Arabic form of the word as *jūkhāniyya* and deriving it from *jūkh*, a type of fabric, later suggested that it may in fact be derived from *jawkān*, the game of polo, and got its name from resembling the cut of a polo jacket, which was a short coat with narrow sleeves.⁷⁴ Another fine robe commonly found in Geniza trousseaux

⁷³ For a summary of the new information on textiles from the Geniza, see Yedida K. Stillman, “New Data on Islamic Textiles from the Geniza,” *Textile History* 10 (1979), pp. 184-195; *eadem*, “Textiles and Patterns Come to Life Through the Cairo Geniza,” in *Islamische Textilkunst des Mittelalters: Aktuelle Probleme*, Riggisberger Berichte V (Die Stiftung: Abegg-Riggisberg, 1997), pp. 35-52.

⁷⁴ For the extensive Geniza data on the *jūkāniyya*, see Y. K. Stillman, “Female Attire of Medieval Egypt,” pp. 79-92. The story of the woman in Baghdad, see Ibn

is the *makhtūma*. It was made of costly fabrics such as brocade, siglaton, *dabīqī*, *attābī*, and various silks. It was sometimes designated as a special confection (*‘amal al-dār*—i.e., spécialité de la maison). Although the name *makhtūma* which means “stamped” would lead one to believe that it was originally, at least, a dress with a printed pattern, there are specific references to unpatterned (*muṣmat*) *makhtūmas*. Although the only references to this garment are in the bridal trousseaux, there may have been a masculine form of the garment, since in one instance, the item is designated *nisāwī* (female) which might imply that there also existed one that was *rījālī* (male). A number of garments that were worn by members of both sexes, as for example the ubiquitous *thawb* (the basic robe), the *ghilāla* (the undershirt or chemise worn directly against the body), and the *ma’raqa* (skull cap which kept sweat—Arabic *‘araq*, hence its name—and hair oil from staining the expensive headdress above it), are in fact specified at times as being *nisāwī* (also *nisā’i*) or *rījālī*.⁷⁵ Other new items for the Fatimid period that appear in the Geniza are the *‘aqabiyya*, *‘arḍī*, *mukallaf*, and *radda*, all head scarves or shawls; and the *khaṣī* and *wasat*, both belts or cummerbunds.⁷⁶

In addition to new names of garments and textiles, the Geniza has provided an entirely new vocabulary of patterns and adorments. The lexicon of patterns was as rich as that of colors. The fabric of a garment might be described as *mushahhar* (ornamented with a border of a different color). It might be *mu’lam* (having only a simple border) or *murayyash* (with a fringed border). If a piece of fabric for a shawl or cloak had a single central color with a different color at each edge,

al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazam fī ta’rīkh al-Mulūk wa ‘l-Umām* VIII (Beirut: Dar assakafa repr. of Hyderabad ed. 1357-1359), p. 141. For Goitein’s early reading of *jūkhāniyya*, see his *Mediterranean Society* II, pp. 131-132, 444, 448, 456, and 459. For his later opinion that it should be read *jawkāniyya* and be identified with a polo-jacket (or rather, short coat) style, see *ibid.*, IV, pp. 453-454, n. 75. For an example of the polo-jacket which Goitein believes is the model for the *jūkhāniyya*, D. and J. Sourdel, *La civilisation de l’Islam classique*, illus. 141 (opposite p. 381).

⁷⁵ Y. K. Stillman, “Female Attire of Medieval Egypt,” pp. 97-98. For examples of designated masculine and feminine versions of these garments, see TS Box K 15, f. 99, II, l. 17; ULC Or 1080 J 142 I, l. 13; Bodl. MS Heb. e 98, f. 74, l. 10; TS K 15, f. 99, col. II, ll. 17-18; TS NS J 392, l. 11; Dropsie 402, l. 5; TS NS K 184, ll. 8-10.

⁷⁶ Concerning these items, see Y. K. Stillman, “Female Attire of Medieval Egypt,” pp. 100-102; 118-119; 120-123; 169-174; 179-188; 203-205; and 209-211.

it was designated *muṭarraf*—that is, like a horse whose head and tail are black and whose body is white, or vice versa.⁷⁷

On the basis of the evidence in Geniza documents, stripes of various kinds seem to have been a common form of textile design. The cloth known as *habar*, *hibara*, and other variations, was by definition a striped cloth (see Pl. 11). One silk *hulla* (an ensemble consisting of several items) is described as “having striping on it” (*makhtūt ‘alayhā*). The fabrics of many Geniza garments are commonly designated as *muzannar* (decorated with belt-like bands). Yet another type of stripe which is mentioned in several trousseaux is called *jārī al-qalam* (literally, “the flowing of the pen”). The name would indicate that this was a very fine stripe, perhaps almost a pinstripe. Examples of garments made of such a fabric from the Islamic Middle Ages with fine vertical stripes are known from manuscript illuminations (see Pl. 12) and from actual surviving items of clothing.⁷⁸

Stripes seem to have been much more popular in the Geniza period than spots. Textiles decorated with spots (*mujayyan*) are rarely mentioned. This is noteworthy since spotted fabrics for both clothing and upholstery are commonly represented in medieval Islamic art, including from the Fatimid period. It could be that the patterns represented in lustre ware pottery and other media were by Fatimid times a well established artistic convention that represented earlier modes of high fashion. Or perhaps—and this seems much less likely—spotted patterns, such as the *mu‘ayyan* mentioned by al-Washshā’ for fashion plates in ‘Abbasid Baghdad, were still mainly reserved for the ruling elite and had not been adopted by the bourgeoisie (see Pl. 13).⁷⁹

At least two common checked patterns are mentioned in the Geniza. The more common of the two, called *mutakhkhat* (literally, “paneled”),

⁷⁷ *Mushahar*: TS Box J I, f. 29, II, l. 30; *mu’lam*: TS 13 J 6, f. 9v, I, l. 12; *murayyash*: TS 16.147, l. 6; *muṭarraf*: TS 13 J 3, f. 10c, II, l. 12. For *muṭarraf* applied to horses, see al-Zabidi, *Tāj al-‘Arūs* VI, p. 180.

⁷⁸ For *habar*: ULC Or 1080 K 126, l. 17; also Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, p. 216; *hulla makhtūt ‘alayhā*: Firkovitch Collection (St. Petersburg) II 1700, f. 18b, I; *muzannar*: TS Box K 15, f. 100, I, l. 22; *jārī al-qalam*: TS Box K 25, f. 171, I, l. 8; and for an example of a surviving tunic from the Islamic period with both fine stripes and with ornamented bands, see Coptic Museum, Cairo, inventory no. 2073.

⁷⁹ For one example of *mujayyan*: TS 20.48, l. 22. For al-Washshā’ and the *mu‘ayyan* (literally ‘like eyes’), see above p. 46.

may have been a small check similar to a plaid. Examples of garments with this pattern appear both in illustrated manuscripts and in surviving textile fragments (see Pls. 14 and 15). The other check, called *shatranjī* (from *shatranj*, the Arabic word for “chess”) was a large simple checker-board pattern (see Pl. 16).⁸⁰

The use of gold for decorating fine fabrics both for clothing and for furnishing was extremely popular in the medieval Muslim world and is amply documented in Geniza records and in Arabic illuminated manuscripts. From the Geniza, we know that a distinction was made between fabric gilded on the surface (*mudhahhab*), or embroidered with gold thread (*muṭarraz bil-dhahab*). Of the two techniques, the less expensive gilding was—understandably far more common. Another type of gold embroidery in the Geniza and which is also mentioned in literary sources is called *zarkash*. What distinguished the latter from *muṭarraz bil-dhahab*, however, is not as yet known.⁸¹

In addition to being decorated with gold, fine textiles (particularly for garments) might be set with jewels. This kind of decoration is called in the Geniza *sulās*. Occasionally, part of a garment—sleeves particularly—would be adorned with jewels, such as pearls. Here again, the Geniza demonstrates how during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods the bourgeoisie, including non-Muslims, avidly imitated the fashions of the ruling class.⁸²

There is also considerable new information from the Geniza on garments already known. For example, the *safsārī* and the *barakān*, both mantles, which have been in attested use in the Maghreb from medieval to modern times, are shown to have been worn in Fatimid and Ayyubid Egypt as well.⁸³ No doubt they were brought into the

⁸⁰ For *mutakhhhat*: Bodl. MS Heb. f 56 (2821), f. 53, ll. 12-13.

⁸¹ Gilded: TS Box J I, f. 29, II, l. 21; gold embroidered: TS Misc. Box 29, f. 29, l. 4; *zarkash*: TS 16.206, l. 13; and for the literary sources, see Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, pp. 8, 113, 118, and 150. Cf. the Andalusian fabrics worked with gold and silver mentioned in Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900-1500*

(Cambridge University Press: New York, 1994), p. 178.

⁸² *Sulās*: ULC Or 1080 J 142, II, l. 3. For the root of this term, see Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* I, p. 673.

⁸³ See Y. K. Stillman, “Female Attire of Medieval Egypt,” pp. 42-43 and pp. 62-63; for medieval references see, al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Muštaq fi Ikhtirā al-Afqāq*, eds. R. Dozy and M. J. DeGoeje (E. J. Brill: Leiden, 1866), pp. 56 and 125. For later

east after the Fatimid conquest in 969/358. The *badan*, a short, sleeveless tunic, worn by both sexes and usually associated with the Arabian Peninsula, is shown to have been a fairly common article of feminine attire in medieval Egypt too.⁸⁴

references to the *barrakān*, see Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes*, pp. 68-71; and for the *safsārī*, see Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, I, p. 658.

⁸⁴ For the *badan*, see Stillman, *ibid.*, pp. 64-65; and Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes*, pp. 56-58.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ARAB EAST UNDER THE TURKISH DYNASTIES OF THE LATER MIDDLE AGES AND EARLY MODERN TIMES: SALJUQS, AYYUBIDS, MAMLUKS, AND OTTOMANS

Several important trends become prominent in the Islamic vestimentary system during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Among these are: (a) the diffusion of new garments from outside the system, (b) increasing social stratification reflected in clothing, and (c) the rigidification of the dress code for the *dhimmī* subject population. Under the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids—with the exception of certain ceremonial court costumes—many of the same articles of clothing had been worn by people across the entire social spectrum. The only difference, of course, was in the fabrics and decoration. There were not even special uniforms for soldiers until well into the Abbasid period when the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim instituted them for his Turkish praetorians.¹

The Clothing of the Military Élite

The Turkish military dynasties that controlled one part or another of the Middle East from the late eleventh/fifth to the early sixteenth/tenth centuries brought with them many Central Asian styles, particularly in military and ceremonial attire. These, however, were in the beginning the distinguishing costumes of the military feudal élite. The fashion of dress of the native Arab population was little affected at first. M. V. Gorelik has attempted to distinguish between two broad complexes of dress throughout the Arab east at this time—the western, based on the fusion of Arabian styles with those

¹ See Muhammad Manazir Ahsan, *Social Life Under the Abbasids, 170-289 AH, 786-902 AD* (Longman: London and New York, 1979), pp. 29 and 59-60.

derived from Hellenistic Mediterranean prototypes, and the eastern, derived from Iranian, Turkish, and Inner Asian styles. Syria and Iraq during this period fell generally into the latter category, while Egypt, with the exception of the military, fell into the former.² However, as already noted in the preceding chapter, this fusion of vestimentary systems was already taking place as early as the Umayyad period and had gained even more momentum under the 'Abbasids. The only difference now was the Central Asian styles were becoming ever more dominant in Syria and particularly in Iraq.

Throughout much of this period, the typical outer garment for a member of the ruling class was any one of a variety of coats (*aqbiya*). These were worn over the usual layers of undershirts, the most common of which was the *qamjūn* which supplanted the *ghilāla* which for centuries had been the most popular body shirt. The undershirt was normally hidden by the outer garments, except in southern Iraq where it was commonly cut long to extend below the coat above it.³

The Saljuqs and Ayyubids preferred the so-called Turkish coats (*al-aqbiya al-turkiyya*), the hem of which crossed the chest in a diagonal from right to left (see Pl. 17). The Mamluk *amīrs* wore the Tatar-style coats (*al-aqbiya al-tatariyya*) with the hem crossing the opposite way. The flaps of the coat fastened with anchor buttons (*azrār*) or with little strings that tied in a bow (see fig. 1). Some coats (usually non-military ones) buttoned down the front with frog buttons or more rarely with strings that tied in a bow (see fig. 2).⁴ Over

² M. V. Gorelik "Blizhnevostochna Miniatyura XII-XIII vv. kak etnografichesky istochnik," *Sovetskaya Etnografya* 172:2 (1972), pp. 37-50. Gorelik only deals with the evolution of male attire during this period.

³ For a good example of the long body shirt protruding below the shorter coat on a young boy, see in addition to the illustrations in Gorelik, "Blizhnevostochnaya miniatyura," the sources of which are not given, the illumination from a fourteenth-century Mamluk manuscript from either Syria or Egypt of al-Harīrī's *Maqāmāt*, Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, A.F. 9, folio 18b, reproduced in Dorothea Duda, *Islamische Handschriften II*, Tafelband (Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Vienna, 1992), Pl. 55. For an adult example of a body shirt extending below an adult's three-quarters-length coat, see the fifteenth- or sixteenth-century manuscript illumination from perhaps Baghdad of al-Qazwīnī's *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt*, Nationalbibliothek, Vienna Cod. mixt. 331, folio 61a, in Duda, *ibid.*, Pl. 119.

⁴ For good examples of the anchor ties beneath the arm, see the mid-fifteenth-century manuscript of al-Ṣūfī's *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Kawākib al-Thābita*, Bibliothèque

the coat was worn a belt of metal plaquettes (*hiyāṣa*) (see Pl. 18) or a sash (*band*) (see Pl. 17 and figs. 1-2). The latter was the girdle of the ordinary Mamluk soldier, whereas the former was the mark of high ranking officers. The *hiyāṣa* was at first strictly a military belt. The Mamluk historian al-Maqrīzī identifies it with the ancient *minṭaqā* (see Chapter Two) and states that there was a special market in Cairo (known as *sūq al-hawā'iṣiyīn*) devoted to the sale and manufacture of these belts. Most *hawā'iṣ* were of silver, but some were of gold and even of jade (*yashm*). The finest ones could also be set with precious stones and might cost several hundred dinars. Like so many other elements of Mamluk formal attire, belts varied in detail in accordance with the rank of the wearer. The belts for the highest-ranking amirs are described by al-‘Umarī (d. 1349/749) as having medial roundels (*bawākir wusṭā*) between the upright plaques (*‘umud*) as well as two side pieces (*mujannibatān*) studded with rubies, emeralds and pearls. From manuscript illuminations, it appears that the side pieces were sometimes suspended strips. A sword was normally worn girded on the left and a dagger (*kizlik*) on the right together with a black leather rucksack called a *sawlaq*. A scarf (*mindīl*) was tucked into the *hiyāṣa* and hung over the *sawlaq*. Yet another type of belt which is worn by a governor in full Turkish military attire in one of the medieval *Maqāmāt* illuminations is a thick braided belt. This kind of belt is rarely depicted and must have been of silk or metallic cord.⁵

Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 5036, fols. 38 *recto* and *verso*; for frog buttons down front, *ibid.*, fol. 43 *verso*; for tie strings in front, *ibid.*, fol. 43. For men in non-military straight-cut coats with frog buttons down the front, see Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 5847, fol. 63 *verso*.

⁵ al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā‘iz wa ’l-Itibār bi-Dhikr al-Khitāṭ wa ’l-Athār* (Būlāq: Cairo, 1853), pp. 99 and 217 (extensive passage from al-‘Umarī). al-Maqrīzī’s lengthy passage on the *hiyāṣa* is translated in R. P. A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms de vêtements*, (Jean Muller: Amsterdam, 1845), pp. 146-147. For a finely preserved specimen of the *hiyāṣa* that had belonged to the Ayyubid ruler of Damascus, al-Malik al-Ṣalih Ismā‘īl (ruled 1239-1245/637-643), see L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume: A Survey* (Albert Kundig: Geneva, 1952), Pl. IX; and for clear illustrations of ones in medieval manuscripts, see Nationalbibliothek (Vienna) A. F. 9, fol. 1, where the enthroned ruler on the frontispiece is wearing a gold *hiyāṣa* around his inner *qabā‘*; also Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 5847, fol. 19, where the left horseman in the famous end-of-Ramadan procession scene is wearing one. The illumination is reproduced in full color in Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Skira: Lausanne, 1962), p. 119. For a clear example of the suspended side-pieces

In addition to the closed belted coats, there were also a variety of open coats (*aqbiya maftūha*). According to Ibn Iyās, these were among the luxurious innovations in dress that were introduced under Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (ruled 1293-94/693; 1299-1309/698-708; and 1310-1341/709-741). Fur-trimmed, patterned, and *fīrāz*-banded open coats worn over military coats and civilian robes are clearly illustrated in manuscript illuminations from the Mamluk period (see Pl. 19 and 22).⁶

For members of the Turkish ruling classes, the sleeves of their coat were frequently indicative of rank and social status. The longer and more ample the sleeves, the higher the standing of the wearer. (The qādī of Alexandria, for example, is depicted with enormously wide sleeves in one of the *Maqāmāt* manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.)⁷ It is for this reason, that one of the new discriminatory restrictions that was placed upon non-Muslims during the Mamluk period was that the sleeves of the garments had to be cut narrow (see Chapter Five below). During the Mamluk period, sleeves on the robes of the upper class were so long and ample that they entirely hid the hand of the wearer. It is for this reason that the wealthy young merchant in the Christian broker's tale in the *Thousand and One Nights* could astound his guest by eating with his left hand until he revealed from beneath his sleeve that the right hand had been cut off. The long, ample sleeve normally hid the wearer's hands totally from view. Sleeves extending just below the wearer's hands as well as sleeves of double arm's length are frequently depicted in the illuminations of manuscripts of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* dating from the thirteenth/seventh and fourteenth/eighth centuries (see Pl. 25b and 32). Figures are often shown standing with their hands modestly clasped in front of them, totally hidden within the sleeves. In one painting, men in the mosque are repre-

(in this case studded with silver roundels), see *ibid.*, fol. 84 *verso*. For the braided belt, see *ibid.*, 6094, fol. 130 *verso*.

⁶ See for example, Dorothea Duda, *Islamische Handschriften II*, Teil 1 [*Die Illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*] (Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Vienna, 1992), Abb. 49, 61, 62, 63, 71, and 74. All are from al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*, Cod. A. F. 9. This manuscript was itself probably executed during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn.

⁷ Ms arabe 6094, fol. 27.

sented with their sleeves totally pulled down over their hands as they are about to prostrate themselves in prayer.⁸

In keeping with the militarism of the Turkish ruling caste and its love of heraldry, blazons adorned their *akhṣāf* (the plural more commonly used for *khuff* in this period), or boots. The blazons can be clearly seen on the the boots of several Mamluk figures on such inlaid bronze pieces as the famous *Baptistère de St. Louis* in the Louvre (Pl. 20). (Interestingly, although blazon appliqués seem to have been placed on all sorts of equipment such as banners and caparisons and painted on glassware, there is no indication that they were placed on clothing other than boots.) On the basis of the illuminated manuscripts from the period, boots were usually knee-length and most commonly of black, brown, or red leather, and might be tooled on the sides and have metal studs in front. Even higher boots appear extending midway up the thigh or going above the knee in front, but being cut just below the knee in back. The toe of the boot could be either pointed or round. Mamluk nobles wore decorative spurs (*mihmāz*) over their boots, and those who were fief-holders in the royal guard were entitled to wear spurs of gold.⁹

⁸ The tale is in the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth nights and is part of the “hunchback cycle.” See *Alf Layla wa-Layla* I (Bulaq: Cairo, 1252), pp. 75-81. The incidents with the hand that is at first hidden in the sleeve is on pp. 76 and 80. The English translation is in Edward William Lane, *The Arabian Nights’ Entertainment, or The Thousand and One Nights* (Tudor Publishing: New York, 1939), pp. 128-137. For examples of such sleeves in medieval illuminations, see also British Museum (London) Or. add. 22114, fols. 12 *verso*, 21, 59 *verso*, 61 *verso*, 76 *verso*, 78, and 175 (where all the members of the congregation are shown with both sleeves pulled down over their hands as they are about to prostrate themselves); Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) 3929, fols. 45, 56, 66 *verso*; and 103; *ibid.* 5847, fols. 56 (hands clasped in front totally hidden by the two sleeves) and 92.

⁹ al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭāṭ* II, p. 217. For examples of Mamluk blazons, see *Tissus d’Egypte témoins du monde arabe VIII^e–XV^e siècles: Collection Bouvier* (Musée d’art et d’histoire: Geneva; Institut du monde arabe: Paris, 1993), pp. 296-299, nos. 190-193. A finely preserved example of a Mamluk blazon, which actually came from the head-piece of a pack-animal’s caparison, is preserved in the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C. See the illustration in Patricia L. Baker *Islamic Textiles* (British Museum Press: London, 1995), p. 70. For an example of a horseman with red boots with tooling on the side and gold or brass studs in front, see Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 3929, fol. 117, where a second rider is also depicted with unadorned black boots. In one manuscript of al-Qazwīnī’s ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt, Freer Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.) No. 54.51 *verso*, there is an example of green boots, but this unusual example may be due to the fact that green is asso-

Instead of boots, Mamluk (and presumably Saljuk and Ayyubid) soldiers and officials sometimes wore leggings (*rān*), which were strips of cloth wound around the lower leg from the ankle to the knees (see Pl. 21). As mentioned above in Chapter Two, *rān* were among the Irano-Central Asian articles of clothing that Arab warriors were forbidden to wear during the early days of the Muslim empire in order to maintain clear marks of differentiation between the Arab rulers and the subject population. Now, however, it was the Arabs who were the subjects of a ruling military elite that maintained its own vestimentary marks of distinction to separate itself from the natives.¹⁰

Special headcoverings were also marks of military status among the Saljuqs, Ayyubids, and Mamluks. The illustrations from the *Maqāmāt*, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, and *Kitāb al-Diryāq* manuscripts from this period attest a very wide variety of caps and turban styles, including hats of Central Asian and Far Eastern origin. For example, two musicians playing before a Mamluk sultan are depicted wearing Mongol plumed and brimmed hats (see Pl. 22).

The normal headgear of the military class was a stiff cap with a triangular front which in some instances appears to have been a metallic plaque. It was sometimes trimmed with fur and was called a *sharbūsh* (see Pl. 23 which depicts a Saljuq atabeg wearing a *sharbūsh* and *tirāz qabā'* and also Pl. 19), and sometimes it had a small kerchief bound around it to form a sort of turban which was designated a *takhfīfa*. The *sharbūsh* was absolutely de rigeur for an *amīr*. The other most common cap was the *kalawta* which was usually yellow under the Ayyubids, yellow and red under the early Mamluks, and later red only. It also varied in shape, size, and quality throughout the centuries. Originally of wool, it later was made of finer fabrics shot with gold thread. Like the *sharbūsh*, the *kalawta* was an official military cap and could also be worn with a *takhfīfa* wrapped around it. In fact it was so symbolic of the Mamluk military that

ciated with Paradise and that the boots in fact are being worn by an angel who wears a green robe and partially green wings. A color photo of this illumination may be found in Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, p. 178.

¹⁰ See Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 3929, fol. 96 *verso*; ibid., ms arabe 5847, fol. 94 *verso* (Pl. 21); and ibid., ms arabe 6094, fol. 31.

members of the group as a whole were sometimes referred to as the *mukalwatūn*, just as they were referred to since Saljuq times as *arbāb al-suyūf* (masters of the sword).¹¹

As with other items of the Turkish military wardrobe, the *kalawta* eventually came to be worn by members of the civilian population. A variant of the *kalawta* became a common cap for schoolboys much as military caps were common for students in Central and Eastern Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Pl. 24). In one medieval illumination, a man in a crowd of people is depicted wearing a *kalawta* with ear flaps ending in straps that were tied beneath the wearer's chin.¹²

Another hat that seems to have been popular during the Mamluk era was the *sarāqūj*. It was a high, pointed, conical hat of Central Asian origin with a brim that most frequently was turned up, but also could be turned down. The *sarāqūj* was usually white or a light tan. It could also be two-toned, with a light brim and a colored crown. The point of the conical crown could be plain or have a decorative metallic knob, pointed plaque, tuft, or long plumes extending from it. The cone could be simple or paneled in vertical sections, and a colored *takhfīfa* might be crisscrossed around it with a brooch or plaque pinned to the point where the cloth overlapped (See Pl. 19). From the manuscript illuminations, it would seem that most of the people wearing the *sarāqūj* were young Asian men with braided hair.¹³

The *qabā'* and the *sharbūsh* together were the essential uniform of a Muslim knight under the Ayyubids and Saljuqs and were usually

¹¹ Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, pp. 28-29.

¹² See for example, Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 6094, fol. 167 (in which half the pupils are wearing Turkish caps and half are wearing turbans; Nationalbibliothek (Vienna) A. F. 9, fol. 170 *verso* (in which seven out of the ten pupils are wearing caps); also British Museum (London) 22114, fol. 170. In *ibid.*, fol. 156 *verso*, the schoolboys are wearing a crown-like Turkish cap. For the cap with the unusual earflaps, see Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 6094, fol. 174.

¹³ For *sarāqūj* with upturned brim, see Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 5847, fols. 30 *verso* and 31; for downturned brim, see *ibid.*, ms arabe 2964, fol. 17; for decorative knobs and paneled sections, see *ibid.* 5036, fols. 38 *recto* and *verso*; and for one with a red *takhfīfa* with a brooch at the center of the crisscross, see Nationalbibliothek (Vienna) A.F. 10, fol. 1.

part of the ceremony of investiture whereby the sultan conferred such a status on an individual soldier. Because these two garments were so much the distinctive uniform of an honorable knight in the Muslim world, even a Crusader was prepared to wear them as a gesture of friendship to Șalāh al-Dīn.¹⁴ Under the Bahri Mamluks, it was the *qabā'* and the *kalawta* that were the essentials. And under the Burjī Mamluks, it was the *zamṭ*, or *zanṭ*, together with the *malūṭa* cloak that formed the basic uniform. The *zamṭ* was a cap about which considerable scholarly ink has been spilled. It may well have been the shaggy headcovering described by some European travelers. Examples of shaggy caps, both low round ones and high busby-like ones, are depicted in Mamluk military manuals, such as the *Kitāb al-Makhzūn Jāmi' al-Funūn* of Nāṣir al-Dīn b. al-Tarābulṣī. The only sure thing is that it was normally red in color.¹⁵

Under the Mamluks, two popular short sleeved coats were the *bughluṭāq* (also *bughlūṭāq*) and the *sallāriyya*. These were made of a variety of fabrics and frequently were lined with fur. Such a coat was sometimes worn under an ample outer robe (*farajīyya*). Eventually, some of the garments which were at first the mark of the military aristocracy were imitated by the middle classes. The *bughluṭāq*, for example, appears in several Geniza documents. Two different short, jacket-like coats, are illustrated in one of the Paris *Maqāmāt* manuscripts. One has short sleeves, and the other long sleeves (see Pl. 25). But it cannot be determined with any certainty that these

¹⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kitāb al-Kāmil fi 'l-Ta'rīkh* XII, pp. 51-52.

¹⁵ The debate is over the *zamṭ*'s/*zanṭ*'s identity is from Dozy's time to his own is summarized with references in Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, pp. 32-33. On the basis of the description of the late fifteenth-century German traveler Dietrich von Schachten of a Mamluk cap, and in coordination with European paintings, Turkish miniatures, and a well-preserved cap in the Coptic Museum (Cairo), Mayer argues that the *zamṭ* was a tufted or shaggy cap (see Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, Pl. XI, no. 2). More recently, Duncan Haldane, *Mamluk Painting* (Aris and Phillips: Warminster, 1978), p. 29, has called the Mongol plumed hat with upturned brim worn by one of the musicians in the Österreichische Nationalbibl. Cod A.F. 9, fol. 1a (see Pl. 22) a *zamṭ*, but this seems to be an arbitrary identification. For depictions of shaggy high and low caps, see al-Tarābulṣī, *Makhzūn Jāmi' al-Funūn*, Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 2824, fols. 108 and 109 *recto* and *verso* (dated 1470/875); and *ibid.*, 2826, fols. 108-109 (dated 1578-79/986).

are the *bughluṭāq* and *sallāriyya*, and if they indeed are, then which is which.¹⁶

No discussion of the dress of the Mamluk military elite can omit mention of the notion of *qumāsh*. The word first appears in the tenth/fourth century, although it does not seem to become common until the Mamluk period. In medieval and later written and vernacular Arabic (as well as Persian and Turkish) it merely designates “woven stuff” and was synonymous with the more classical terms *bazz* and *thiyāb*. Additionally, *qumāsh* also came to mean in Mamluk usage “dress uniform.” Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn is credited with the formal introduction of the *shāsh wa ḥiṣṣat qumāsh* (“turban cloth and formal coat”) of the Mamluk warrior. Upon manumission and induction into the corps, a young Mamluk received his *qumāsh*, his sword, and his horse. Putting on the *qumāsh* (*labisa al-qumāsh*) was equivalent to “wearing khaki” as opposed to “wearing mufti.” Just as modern militaries have various uniforms for season and occasion, so too did the Mamluks. There was a specific summer white uniform, or *al-qumāsh al-abyād al-ṣayfī*, a service uniform, or *qumāsh al-khidma*, a parade uniform, called *qumāsh al-rukūb* as well as *qumāsh al-mawkib*, and an informal uniform, or *qumāsh al-julūs*. The *qumāsh* must have been a fairly heavy coat. Mamluk soldiers are reported to have thrown it off together with their armor when fleeing a battlefield, and Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (ruled 1468-1496/872-901) is reported to have waived the obligation for it to be worn for ordinary palace service since it was too hot for much of the year in Egypt.¹⁷

Like other Islamic dynasties before them (and after them as well), the Mamluks made frequent use of the ceremonial bestowal of robes of honor. Robes were presented for all sorts of occasions. Just as there were robes for appointment to office (*khil’at al-niyāba*, *khil’at al-wizāra*, *khil’at al-istiqrār*), there were also robes for reconfirmation in office (*khil’at al-istimrār*) and for honorable dismissal (*khil’at al-‘azl*), as well as for pardon after disgrace (*khil’at al-riḍā*).¹⁸ The presenta-

¹⁶ Both jackets are depicted in Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 3929, fols. 68 *verso* and 104 (Pl. 25 a-b).

¹⁷ For the most extended discussions of *qumāsh* and the sources, see Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, pp. 75-80; and N. A. Stillman, “Kumāsh,” *EP* V, pp. 373-374.

¹⁸ For a full list of *khila’* which took their names from special occasions, see Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, pp. 61-62 and the sources cited there.

tion outfit was often designated *tashrif* as well as *khil'a* and could consist of more than garments alone, including also arms and a fully saddled and caparisoned horse from the sultan's own stable. In keeping with the military hierachal nature of Mamluk society and its penchant for uniforms, there was a standardization of *khila'* according to social estate and rank within each of the three social estates (the military, the civil service, and the '*ulamā'*). In addition to this standardization, one of the most significant trends with regard to robes of honor that took place during the Mamluk period was the declining importance of *tirāz* inscriptions on the garments themselves. Gold, silver and silk embroidery remained important, but actual embroidered written formulas and texts decreased. (For a more detailed discussion of Mamluk *khila'* and *tirāz* garments, see Chapter Six.)

The Clothing of Other Strata of Society

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the increasing institutionalization of the Muslim learned classes and what has been referred to as Middle Eastern feudalization under the foreign military regimes resulted in greater social differentiation. Not only the dominant military caste, but the bureaucracy (the so-called *arbāb al-aqlām*, or "masters of the pen"), the men of religion (*al-'ulamā'*), the notables (*al-a'yān*), the *shūfis* (*ahl al-taṣawwuf*), the members of young men's associations (*al-fityān*), and the masses (*al-'āmma*)—all wore clothes, or certain articles of clothing, that identified their place in the highly stratified, well delineated, social order. Thus, for example, the *taylasān* which had been first a Persian garment, and then was worn by fashion plates in the heyday of 'Abbasid Baghdad, became in this period the mark of *qāqdīs* and jurists (Pls. 6 and 7). (The venerability of the *taylasān* was even the subject of a treatise by the great fifteenth-century Egyptian scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī).¹⁹ The high, miter-like *qalansuwa*, which under the Umayyads had been a symbol of royalty, and under the Abbasids was fashionable

¹⁹ al-Šuyūṭī, *al-Āḥādīth al-Hisān fī Fadl al-Taylasān*, ed. A. Arazi (Magnes Press: Jerusalem, 1983).

in Iraq and Iran, became in the later Middle Ages, the common head covering of dervishes. Abū Zayd, the trickster hero of al-Harīrī's *Maqāmāt*, is frequently depicted in the manuscripts wearing a *qalansuwa* (usually a high one, or *qalansuwa ṭawīla*). Usually the *qalansuwa* was a simple cone, but it could also be cut to curve around the side of the face and to extend down the back of the neck (see Pl. 26). Sometimes the *qalansuwa* is worn alone, sometimes with a simple criss-crossed winding cloth (*takhfīfa*), and sometimes with a full turban cloth wrapped around it (see Pl. 14). In manuscript illustrations, the *qalansuwa* is represented in a variety of colors, including brown, yellow, grey, and red. There is even a depiction of a *qalansuwa* totally black in front and totally grey in back with a narrow red band on the lower back edge. Although the high *qalansuwa* had become the mark of mendicants and members of the demi-monde in the later Middle Ages, the lower version was still worn by people of substance and could be adorned for example with strings of pearls.²⁰

A special style of trousers or pantaloons (*sirwāl* or *libās*) was one of the sartorial hallmarks of the *fityān*. It has even been suggested by Oleg Grabar, the foremost specialist on the iconography of the *Maqāmāt* manuscripts, that perhaps some of the *fityān*'s distinguishing garments "may have been satirized or at least reproduced in Abu Zayd's garments." (see Pl. 26 and 27)²¹

Under the Mamluks, there was an extremely wide variety of headgear. High civil servants wore a turban called *baqyār*. The finest were of embroidered *dimyātī* linen ('*amal dimyāt marqūm*), but they could also be of *ṭarh*, a fine Alexandrian fabric which was most likely a linen.²²

²⁰ The *qalansuwa* appears so frequently in the *Maqāmāt* illustrations that it would be totally impractical to list them all here. However, for an example of a wealthy merchant with strands of pearls on his low *qalansuwa*, see Oxford Bodleian Marsh 458, fol. 51 *verso*.

²¹ See Claude Cahen, "Futuwwa," *EP* II, p. 964; Patricia Lesley Baker, "A History of Islamic Court Dress in the Middle East," (Ph. D. diss. School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1986), pp. 171-172. Oleg Grabar, *The Illustrations of the Maqamat* (University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, 1984), p. 145.

²² See al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭāt* II, p. 228. For *ṭarh*, Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 50; see R. P. A. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* II, (Brill: Leiden, 1967) p. 31b. *Ṭarh* appears in only two Geniza trousseau lists from the late twelfth century

While boots seem to have been the regular footwear of the military caste, civilians seem to have worn a variety of shoes (*nī'āl*). The most common of these, if the manuscripts' illuminations are any indication, were low black or brown slippers that resembled espadrilles. Another type was a pointed soft leather shoe which extended just above the ankles and then turned down or slightly rolled up (See Pl. 26). Boots to mid-calf length (what the French might call *bottines*) are also sometimes depicted in the manuscripts.²³

Sandals had been worn in the Near East since ancient times and certainly were worn in the Middle Ages. But strangely enough, they appear only rarely in manuscript illustrations. The picaresque Abū Zayd appears in one such illustration shod in a simple flat sandal with a central cord from the ankle to the middle of the toes, two cords across the top of the foot, and two more cords across the side of the ankle (see figs. 3-4).²⁴

As has been mentioned in Chapter One, already in *Jāhilī* and early Islamic Arabia, there were different styles—which even had specific names—of draping one's mantle. From the many manuscript illuminations, it is clear that during the period of the Turkish military dynasties, there was the widest variety of draping styles for the many different types of wraps and mantles. For example, the *ridā'* could be worn as a cloak over both shoulders or draped toga-style over the left shoulder, while leaving the right arm entirely free (see Pl. 24). Or alternatively, the mantle could be draped over the right shoulder with the left arm bare. Since the only illuminated example of the latter draping is that of the trickster Abū Zayd, it is perhaps a sartorial representation of his roguish nature.²⁵ Wraps such as the *taylasān* and *tarha* of a *qādī* could cover the head and

(ULC Or 1080 J 142 II and TS 16.61), and in both instances as the fabric of a *jūkāniyya*. See Yedida K. Stillman, "Female Attire of Medieval Egypt: According to the Trousseau Lists and Cognate Material from the Cairo Geniza" (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1972), p. 85.

²³ These espadrille-like shoes are worn by men throughout the *Maqāmāt* manuscripts.

²⁴ Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) 3929, fol. 76 *verso*.

²⁵ For examples of draping over the left shoulder, see Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 6094, fol. 81 *verso*; Academy of Sciences Oriental Institute (St. Petersburg) S. 23, p. 229. For draping over the right shoulder, see Bibliothèque Nationale *ibid.*, fol. 124.

fully envelop the wearer's body, or hang down the back, or be crisscrossed at the chest in the so-called *lām-alif* style because of its resemblance to those two letters of the Arabic alphabet when they are connected in script (see fig. 5). A mantle could be held in place with a knot or clasp in front at the neck (see fig. 6). A short mantle could be worn crisscrossed over the shoulders and under the arm-pits, leaving the arms uncovered, and forming a sort of vest. Narrow shawls could be worn draped front to back to form a "u" across the chest with the ends hanging back over each shoulder. In the later Middle Ages, this seems to have been a man's style. However, dancing girls depicted in the ninth/third-century 'Abbasid palace in Samarra, also are depicted wearing shawls in this fashion.²⁶ The lower orders of society, naturally, wore much less and much simpler clothing. Paupers might wear only a waist wrapper (*izār* or *hakw*) and a narrow mantle, with perhaps a low *qalansuwa* on the head. The mantle could be held in place merely by tying the ends into a large knot in front.²⁷ Slaves on the auction block are shown with an absolute minimum of clothes—usually just a white wrap around the waist or draped over the shoulders.²⁸ Various physical laborers, such as carpenters, fishermen, dog handlers, and hunters are frequently depicted in manuscript illuminations clad only in a short, close-fitting tunic or belted coat that are either sleeveless or have elbow-length tight sleeves. Sometimes they have a cap which is most often of the low *qalansuwa* type, and sometimes they are bare-headed. Sometimes the thieves depicted in *Katīla wa-Dimna* manu-

²⁶ For an example of a *qādī* completely enveloped, see British Museum (London) Or. 1200, fol. 112. For an example of a non-enveloping wrap covering only the head and shoulders, see Academy of Sciences Oriental Institute (St. Petersburg) S. 23, p. 236. For examples of the *lām-alif* style, see Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 3929, fol. 50 *verso*; and Academy of Sciences Oriental Institute (St. Petersburg) S. 23, p. 250. For a *qādī* with his mantle clasped at the neck, see Nationalbibliothek (Vienna) A. F. 9, fol. 130 *verso*. For the mantle wrapped to form a sort of vest, see Oxford Bodleian Marsh 458, fol. 74. And for the shawl hanging across the chest with ends thrown back over the shoulders for men, see Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 6094, fol. 174; for women in Iraq, see Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, Appendix, p. 191, no. 6.

²⁷ Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 3929, fol. 54 *verso*; and for mantle tied with large knot in front, see *ibid.*, fol. 42 *verso*. See also British Museum (London) or.add., fol. 76 *verso* (loincloth only).

²⁸ Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 5847, fol. 105.

scripts are also depicted in this attire. Peasants working in the field are sometimes shown barechested and wearing only knee-length britches (either long *tubbān* or short *sirwāl*) (see Pl. 28). The Arab poet al-Quṭāmī (died 728/110) specifically mentions the Nabateans (that is, the Aramaic-speaking peasantry) as being able to stand up to the heat of the sun wearing only their *tabābīn*.²⁹ One clear picture of a woman working alongside barechested men at the threshing floor with a large sieve in hand depicts her as clad only in *sirwāl* and a sheer *qamīṣ* with tight elbow-length sleeves (See Pl. 28). People working outdoors sometimes are depicted wearing a low pointed, brimmed, sun hat which appears to have been made of straw.³⁰

Female Attire

Based on textual sources, it is difficult to discern major changes in female attire under the Turkish military dynasties of the later Middle Ages. The names and functions of feminine garments remain quite constant. But as Baker aptly points out: “It seems unlikely that the design and appearance of such items remained static for four or five hundred years.”³¹

The primary feminine undergarment was (despite the doubts of the great historian of Mamluk attire, L. A. Mayer as to its ubiquity) a pair of drawers which could be knee-length knickers (*mi’zar*) or longer pantaloons (*sarāwīl*), pleated or unpleated. Both the *mi’zar* and *sarāwīl* were often euphemistically referred to simply as *libās*, a usage which continued into the modern period.³² Arabic chroniclers and European travelers noted that women of the élite during the

²⁹ The verses are cited in D. S. Rice, “Deacon or Drink: Some Paintings from Samarra Re-Examined,” *Arabica* 5 (1958), p. 26.

³⁰ See for example Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 3465, fols. 27 *verso*, 29 *verso*, 31 *verso*, 38, and 102 *verso* (all thieves, including perhaps a female thief in fol. 38); 33 (fishermen, one of whom is wearing a sun hat); 47 (carpenter); 84 (hunter); 122 (dog handlers). For the lightly clad woman working alongside bare-chested men at the threshing floor, see Bibliothèque Nationale ms arabe 2964, fol. 22.

³¹ Baker, “Islamic Court Dress,” p. 177.

³² See, for example, Yedida K. Stillman, *Palestinian Costume and Jewelry* (University of New Mexico Press: Albuquerque, 1979), p. 18.

first two centuries of the Mamluk period sported luxurious drawers, brocaded with gold and silver thread or studded with jewels. The wives of amirs and viziers sometimes possessed enormous collections of drawers in their wardrobes. The wife of the vizier Shams al-Dīn Mūsā was reported to have owned no less than 400 pair (a medieval parallel to the shoe collection of Imelda Marcos), and the amir Aqbughā's wife's collection was sold off for 200,000 dirhams.³³ A fourteenth-century Italian pilgrim Simone Sigoli relates that he was told by his Muslim guide that the adornment of luxurious drawers could cost as much as 400-500 ducats (He, of course, would have no opportunity to actually see an upper class woman's underdrawers).³⁴ Even the *tikka*, or drawerstring could be bejewelled, or saturated with musk.³⁵

During the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, it became fashionable among some women to wear their *sarāwīl* low, with the top drawn down well below the waistline. This—together with revealing, tightly fitted clothing—shocked the prudish Mālikī jurist Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj al-‘Abdarī.³⁶

Mayer's argument that these references to drawers seem to be exceptional and anecdotal, that they cannot be identified in many manuscript illuminations, and that they are not mentioned in trousseau lists is not convincing.³⁷ Most references to clothing, and particularly to women's clothing, or even to women for that matter, are exceptional and for anecdotal color in Arabic chronicles. Most women in manuscript illustrations from the period are depicted entirely wrapped and veiled from head to toe, but there are illuminations that do reveal the *sarāwīl*. Lastly, undergarments, like shoes, are never mentioned in the Geniza trousseau lists for the sake of

³³ Ahmād ‘Abd ar-Rāziq, *La femme au temps des Mamlouks en Égypte* (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale: Cairo, 1973), pp. 232-233.

³⁴ Leonardo Frescobaldi, Giorgio Gucci, and Simone Sigoli, *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine, and Syria in 1384*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, No. 6 (Franciscan Press: Jerusalem, 1948), p. 163.

³⁵ Ibn Iyās, *Kitāb Ta’rīkh Miṣr al-Mashhūr bi-Badā’i’ al-Zuhūr fī Waqā’i’ al-Duhūr* I (Al-Maṭba’ā al-Kubrā al-Amiriyya: Cairo, 1893/1311), p. 92.

³⁶ Ibn al-Ḥājj, *al-Madkhal* I (Al-Maṭba’ā al-Miṣriyya: Cairo, 1929), pp. 200-201.

³⁷ Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 70; *idem*, “Costumes of Mamluk Women,” *Islamic Culture* 17 (1943), p. 299.

propriety, but *tikak* are mentioned, although not often. Indeed, these items are not usually shown in the *śūra* (display of the trousseau) of brides in the contemporary Arab world.³⁸

Together with the underdrawers, the chemise, or *qamīṣ* was also a basic element of female attire in the Mamluk period. The *qamīṣ* was normally long and ample, and ranged from light and gauzy to more substantial weight. One particular variety that came into vogue during the first half of the fourteenth/eighth century was the *bahṭala*. It trailed greatly over the ground and had enormous sleeves, three ells wide, which were emphasized to great advantage by the short-sleeved *bughlutāq* coat (originally a male, military garment) that was popularly worn over it. Prices for a luxuriously adorned *bahṭala* could reach as high as 1,000 dirhams. The flamboyance of the garment came to be considered scandalous enough that in 1350-51/751, the vizier Manjak issued an order that the sleeves should be cut and that such garments not be produced any more. The police were placed on alert. Some women were arrested. Images of women wearing the forbidden garment who had been executed were mounted on the ramparts of Cairo as a further deterrent. The decree was extended to Syria a short time later.³⁹ Like many sumptuary decrees, Manjak's fell into desuetude within a generation. The wide sleeves came back into fashion, and in 1391/793, the Amīr Kumushbughā issued an edict limiting the length of fabric that could be used in the confection of *qumṣān* and again severely limiting the amplitude of the sleeves. Troops were dispersed throughout Cairo to cut down sleeves that exceeded the legal limit. The newer shorter- and less amply-sleeved chemises remained in fashion for generations and were still called more than half a century later *al-qumṣān al-Kumushbughāwiyya*. The sleeves of the this type of chemise supposedly resembled those of Bedouin garments.⁴⁰

³⁸ See Stillman, "Female Attire of Medieval Egypt," pp. 208 and 222.

³⁹ al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭat* II, p. 322; Ibn Iyās, *Bada'ī al-Ẓuhūr* I, p. 193. For Syria, see the sources cited by 'Abd ar-Rāziq, *La femme au temps des Mamlouks*, p. 234, n. 5.

⁴⁰ Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Ẓāhirah fī Mūlūk Miṣr wa 'l-Qāhira* V, ed. W. Popper (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1909), p. 541; Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes*, p. 374; Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 69; and 'Abd ar-Rāziq, *La femme au temps des Mamlouks*, pp. 234-235. 'Abd ar-Rāziq's

During the fourteenth/eighth century, a shorter chemise, the *qandūra*, that only went down to the knees came into vogue. Unlike the Andalusian and Maghrebi sleeveless chemise by this name, this one had elbow-length sleeves, which the Italian Sigoli describes as “a good braccio” (approximately two feet) in width. Interestingly, just as such very long *qumṣān* with ostentatiously trailing trains and enormous sleeves had aroused conservative sensibilities because of their inordinate length, so did the *qanādīr* because of what was perceived to be their immodest brevity. Like other contemporary feminine fashions, this too was condemned by the strait-laced Ibn al-Hājj.⁴¹

As in earlier and later periods, female attire consisted of layers of various garments that depended upon season and whether one was indoors or out. The principal garment worn over the drawers and chemise was the all-purpose *thawb*, which was not a wrap, as Baker has called it, but rather a gown, usually with very wide sleeves.⁴² There is little information available as to its actual cut, and the brevity of the comments of both Mayer and ‘Abd ar-Rāziq are indicative of this fact. Thirteenth-century Iraqi manuscript illuminations show women in close-fitting gowns or a wide-sleeved *fara-jīyya* which was an ample robe that came to just below the knees (see Pl. 29), but the paintings in Egyptian manuscripts from the Mamluk period—as already noted—usually depict women fully wrapped and veiled, or at least in outer coats, and European paintings and engravings depicting Mamluk women depict them either

risqué note (ibid., p. 235, n. 4) that the sleeves of Mamluk women’s chemises were so wide that husbands could have conjugal relations through them is taken from the seventeenth/eleventh-century Egyptian writer al-Shirbīnī, whose mocking anecdotes have been described as “often more scatological than witty.” See M. Ben-Cheneb and P. Cachia, “al-Shirbīnī,” *EP* IX, p. 483. On the other hand, in a thirteenth-century *Kalīla wa-Dimna* manuscript illumination, Bibliothèque Nationale ms arabe 3465, fol. 102 *verso*, a naked man and woman are shown lying together inside a single robe in what perhaps might be the sleeve, and in a similar scene in *ibid.*, fol. 104, the man has his left arm in one sleeve of the garment.

⁴¹ For *qandūra* in medieval Andalusian and Maghrebi sources, see Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* II, p. 410a. For Sigoli’s observations, see Frescobaldi, Gucci, and Sigoli, *Visit to the Holy Places*, p. 163. For Ibn al-Hājj’s disapproval, see his, *al-Madkhal* I, pp. 201 and 241; and see also ‘Abd al-Raziq, *La femme au temps des Mamlouks*, p. 234, n. 5, citing Aqburghā al-Khāskī, *al-Tuhfa al-Fākhira fi Khuṣūt rusūm al-Qāhira* in manuscript.

⁴² Baker, “Islamic Court Dress,” p. 178.

enveloped and veiled or not in clear detail. The Geniza trousseau lists are of no particular help either. Although they note a wide variety of fabrics and colors and sometimes indicate whether the garment is tailored (*mukhayyat*) or untailored (*ghayr musta'mal*), they do not give specifics regarding cut or measurements.⁴³ The *thawb* was normally full-length, but in the fourteenth/eighth century it also became short as part of the general craze for raised hemlines and elbow-length sleeves, which the ever-critical Ibn al-Hājj notes as being a relatively recent innovation.⁴⁴

Another outer robe was the *jubba*, which was certainly not a petticoat, as Ashtor calls it (although the French words *jupon* and *jupe* and their cognates *aljuba* in Spanish and *giuppa* in Italian are certainly derived from it); although it is not clear whether at this time it was a gown or a coat-like garment.⁴⁵ Women did wear coats (*aqbiya*). From the Geniza trousseaux we know that the *bughluṭāq*, which as noted above was originally a short-sleeved coat of the ruling military elite, eventually became a garment for the civilian population and was worn by women as well. It was usually made of one form of silk or another and might have such adornments as silver buttons. Unlike the fabulously expensive garments of the ruling elite, the *bughluṭāq* in the Geniza ranged in price from only two to six dinars.⁴⁶

As in earlier periods, women wore a variety of compound head-dresses consisting of one of a variety of caps, winding scarves, wimples, and bonnets. An early Mamluk illumination shows a female

⁴³ Compare, for example, Bibl. Nat. (Paris) Ms. arabe 5847 (Schefer Ḥarīṭ), fol. 122v in Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, p. 121, and Österreichischen Nationalbibl. (Vienna) Cod. A.F. 9, fols. 25a, 44b and 141b in Duda, *Islamische Handschriften* II, illus. 57, 63, and 82. For examples of European depictions, see the engravings from Arnold von Harff's *Pilgerfahrt* in Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, Pl. XIV, no. 2; and 'Abd ar-Rāziq, *La femme au temps des Mamlouks*, Pl. VII. For the data from Geniza trousseaux, see Stillman, *Female Attire of Medieval Egypt*, pp. 104-115.

⁴⁴ Ibn al-Hājj, *Madkhal* I, pp. 203.

⁴⁵ Eliyahu Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval* (S.E.V.P.E.N.: Paris, 1969), p. 348. See Stillman, "Female Attire of Medieval Egypt," pp. 77-78. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, pp. 15, 52, *et passim*, mentions it only in a masculine context and identifies it with the *farajiyā* and *fawqāniyyā*.

⁴⁶ TS 16.206; TS 24.8; TS 24.28; TS Arabic Box 30, f. 1; and Cambridge University Library Misc. 28, f. 274. See Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires*, p. 349.

lutinist entertaining a group of men in an indoor setting. On her head is a patterned cap over which is a sheer wimple (*bukhnug*) tied in place by an inscribed *ṭirāz* headband ('*ışāba*). In another manuscript (*Kalila wa-Dimna*) from early thirteenth-century Baghdad, respectable women are frequently depicted in indoors scenes with unveiled faces, and wearing wimples held in place by either a metal or cloth '*ışāba* (see Pl. 30). The latter is in some instances worn at an angle rather than straight around the head and is referred to in literature as an '*ışāba mā'ilā* (Pl. 29).⁴⁷

Early in the Mamluk period, an edict was issued forbidding women to wear turbans, although this probably means male-style turbans since women had worn and continued to wear compound turban-like headdresses for centuries, all the way up to early modern times. Such a female '*imāma* must have come into sudden vogue at the time. It certainly was not fashionable in the Fatimid, or Ayyubid periods and only occurs in a single Geniza trousseau list, despite the fact that headcoverings, including turban-like headdresses (for example, the *kuwāra* and the *mījar*) are frequently mentioned.⁴⁸

The adoption of male-style headgear, such as a certain type of *ṭāqīyya*, by Mamluk women is explained by al-Maqrīzī as an attempt to counter widespread homosexual passions of the elite and win back the hearts of their husbands. (Although in the same passage, al-Maqrīzī says that Circassians who had begun wearing ornate turbanless *tawāqī* in public looked like women!) This was not the first time in medieval Islamic history that women crossdressed to attract men. In the early ninth/ third century, Sitt Zubayda created an entire corps of so-called “girl-boys” (*ghulāmiyya*) to wean her son Caliph al-Amīn from his homosexuality.⁴⁹ The *ṭāqīyya* also came to be proscribed for women in an edict issued in 1426-27/830. It is

⁴⁷ Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, A.F. 9, folio 42b in Duda, *Islamische Handschriften* II, Pl. 62; Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 3465, fols. 39 and 130-132.

⁴⁸ For the edict of December 1263/Muḥarram 662 and the debate on the permissibility of women wearing turbans, see Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 71. The only mention of '*imāma* in a Geniza trousseau that I have seen is TS 16.32, l. 12. The word, however, is commonly found in Geniza documents in a masculine context. For the *kuwāra* and *mījar*, see Stillman, “Female Attire of Medieval Egypt,” pp. 137 and 142-144.

⁴⁹ al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ* II, p. 104. Concerning the *ghulāmiyya*, see Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* II, p. 225a.

not clear whether the reason was because it was considered essentially an item of men's clothing, inappropriate for women or because with its padding, embroidery, and fur trim, it was considered *isrāf*, or intemperate luxury, since there were *tawāqī* that were worn by both sexes, particularly by young people.⁵⁰

Another ornate cap similar to the *tāqiyā* worn by women as well as men was the *kūfiyya*. From the descriptions given in the *Thousand and One Nights*, it was certainly far more ornate than an ordinary cap and seems to correspond more to the *kūfiyya* worn by women today in Tunisia and Algeria. That is, it was a close fitting cap, often richly embroidered, with flowing ribbons or a scarf hanging down, and studded with semi-precious and even precious stones (see Pl. 31). Though not frequently mentioned, the *kūfiyya* already appears in Geniza trousseaux from the late Fatimid and early Ayyubid periods.⁵¹

Women also wore a number of new and different hats that had come into the Arab world from Central Asia. One of these was the *sarāqūsh*, which was originally a conical hat with an upturned brim (called at that time *sarāqūj*). In the thirteenth century, it was worn by Tatar men, but seems to have gone out of fashion by the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth/ninth century it appears as a female headdress, which 'Abd al-Rāziq interprets to be a silk cap with short scarf. The *sarāqūsh* is mentioned in the edict of Sultan Qāytbāy together with another headdress, the '*iṣāba muqanza'a*, which had some sort of high tuft or crest. Women were forbidden from wearing either of these in public, and those caught doing so were publicly humiliated by the agents of the market inspector. Perhaps one

⁵⁰ On the prohibition, see Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 72. On the *tawāqī* and *kawāfi* (sing., *kūfiyya*) worn by male and female youths, see al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ* II, p. 103.

⁵¹ See Stillman, "Female Attire of Medieval Egypt," pp. 135-136; Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, pp. 31 and 73; *The Alif Laila or Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night*, ed. W. H. Macnaghten (Wm. H. Allen: London, 1839-1842), I, pp. 333, 596, and 833. For an illustration of a modern North African *kūfiyya*, see P. Eudel, *Dictionnaire des bijoux de l'Afrique du Nord: Maroc, Algérie, Tunisie, Tripolitaine* (Ernest Leroux: Paris, 1906), p. 118; also Georges Marçais, *Le costume musulmane d'Algier* (Librairie Plon: Paris, 1930), p. 112. The *kūfiyya* is mentioned in TS 12.541 (dated 1083) and perhaps in ULC Or 1980 J 142 I (the word is only partially preserved).

of the reasons for this edict, at least in the case of the *sarāqūsh*, was that here again was a case of proscribed crossdressing.⁵²

Out of doors, women were entirely enveloped in a large *izār* and generally had their faces veiled from the bridge of the nose down with a *qinā'* (or *mīqna'*), a *lithām*, or a harness-like *burqu'*. In manuscript illuminations, both the wraps and veils are generally depicted as white, with the only decoration being a lower border. Sometimes the veil is of sheer gauzy material that totally reveals the mouth and other features. Although frequently mentioned in the Geniza trousseau lists, the mask-like *niqāb*, which was a dark band with two eyeholes (somewhat like the mask of the Lone Ranger), is rarely depicted in medieval illuminations. However, in one illustration from a thirteenth-century Iraqi *Maqāmāt* manuscript, most of the women seated in women's balcony of a mosque listening to a preacher are shown wearing the *niqāb* (see Pl. 32). There was also a sac-like veil worn over the head with either eyeholes or the entire area above the nose and below the forehead cut out. These sac-like veils were kept in place by a cloth *'isāba* (see Pl. 19).⁵³ Judging from the many examples illustrated in the manuscripts, boots (*khuff*) seem to have been the common outdoor footwear for women. Women's boots could be long or mid-calf length. In some illuminations they are depicted curling up and back to a point over the toes. They could be decorated with gold stamping at the ankles.⁵⁴

⁵² Concerning this edict, see Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, pp. 71-72; and 'Abd ar-Rāziq, *La femme au temps des Mamlouks*, p. 238. 'Abd ar-Rāziq disagrees with Mayer's identification of both these items; however, his identification of the *'isāba muganza'*, or *'isāba muqanza'*, as a short scarf (un fichu court) seems unjustified. Not only does the word *qanza'* still indicate a cock's comb or a tuft of hair in Arabic, but numerous hats and headdresses, some of which are specifically described as being high, are known from various parts of the medieval Arab world. See Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* II, p. 411 and the sources cited there.

⁵³ See Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, A.F. 9 folios 25a, 44b, and 141b, in Duda, *Islamische Handschriften* II, Pls. 57, 63, and 82. For a woman in a sheer, dark face-veil below the nose (*lithām*), see British Museum (London) Or. 1200, fol. 154. For women wearing the band-like *niqāb*, see Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 5847, fol. 58 *verso*; for the sac-like over-the-head kind of veil with eyeholes, see Academy of Sciences Oriental Institute (St. Petersburg) ms S. 23, p. 288; and for the sac-like kind with the entire area over the eyes and eyebrows cut away, see Nationalbibliothek (Vienna) A.F. 10, fol. 1.

⁵⁴ For women in long boots, see Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 3929, fol. 38 *verso*; for curled pointed boots, see Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe

One article of female attire that is never mentioned in the medieval sources, except in dictionaries, is *quffāzān*, or gloves. Although the Arab lexicographers describe *quffāzān* as being of skins, felt, or wool, stuffed with cotton, in the single illumination where a woman clearly appears to be wearing gloves they seem to be of a black mesh (see Pl. 32). The dictionaries make it clear that gloves were essentially an article of women's clothing. There was a men's *quffāz* which is mentioned and which appears in Mamluk metalwork; namely, the glove worn by the falconer to protect his hand from his bird's sharp talons.⁵⁵

General Trends in Non-Muslim Dress

The clothing of the non-Muslim minorities became even more distinct in this period. This was, on the one hand, part and parcel of the trend toward increased social stratification overall. But it was also due to a specific hardening of attitudes toward the non-Muslims which resulted in their increased social isolation and marginality. The ubiquity and minute detail with respect to sumptuary legislation for *dhimmīs* under these later medieval regimes bear poignant witness to how absolutely essential maintaining strict differentiation had become in comparison to earlier centuries. Everywhere in the late medieval Islamic world, some sort of badge (usually called *ruq'a* in the Middle East and *shakla* or *shikla* in the Maghreb) became the norm for all non-Muslims. In Mamluk Egypt, *dhimmīs* were so-to-speak

2964, fol.15; for black boots with gold stamping at the ankles, see Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 5847, ninth *maqāma*.

⁵⁵ For the references to *quffāz* in the classical dictionaries, see Edward William Lane, *An Arab-English Lexicon* (Williams and Norgate: London, 1867), VII, p. 2551. Since *taqaffazat bil-hinnā* means to “to stain the hand with henna” (literally, “to glove the hand with henna”), conceivably the woman in Pl. 32, could have an all-over henna design on her hands rather than gloves, but this is unlikely since most of the illustrations of women with henna-stained hands do not follow this pattern and are indicated in reddish hue similar to that of henna, rather than black as in this instance. For representations of falconers with a single gloved hand, see D. S. Rice, “The Seasons and the Labors of the Months in Islamic Art,” *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954), pp. 27, fig. 9 (the famous Baptiste de Saint Louis) and 30, fig. 14 (basin in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

color coded by their outer garments. Christians were required to appear in public in a blue, Jews in yellow, and Samaritans in red, and sartorial details such as the size of their headgear and the cut of their sleeves all became subject to special legislation. (For details see Chapter Five.)

The Ottoman period (to early modern times)

As far as the costume history of the region is concerned, the Ottoman conquest of the Arab East in the early 16th/10th century marked a continuation of the preceding period, rather than an abrupt change. Ceremonial and military dress remained Turkish. Some Ottoman fashions were adopted by members of the urban élite, as for example, the Turkish-style *qaftān* for men and the long, tightly-fitted coat known as the *yelek* for women (see Pl. 33). Turkish synonyms came into common use for certain items of clothing alongside, but not necessarily replacing, the native Arabic equivalents (for example, *čaqshīr* and *shintiyān* for *sirwāl* and *yashmaq* for *burqu'*). But on the whole, Arab styles and Arabic terminology prevailed. The vestimentary system remained essentially the same.

Outside of the principal, metropolitan seats of administration, distinct regional styles predominated. These regional distinctions were of minor differences in cut (for example, sleeves, opening for the neck, ampleness, and length) and not-so-minor differences in decorative details such as embroidery, color, fabric pattern, fastenings, trimming, etc., rather than in the basic garments themselves. The extent of the fine details in variation in basic costumes throughout the Ottoman East in the last century is apparent from the important photograph album of Hamdy Bey and M. de Launay, *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873* (see Pls. 33 and 34).⁵⁶

Regional distinctions were—and this remains true today in those places where traditional costumes are still worn—most striking in female attire. Men's clothing was more or less uniform throughout much of the Middle East during the Ottoman period. This was due in part to the fact that men were physically and socially more mobile

⁵⁶ Constantinople, 1873.

than women and came to have a more pan-Middle Eastern style of dress. Thus when a plate from E. W. Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London 1836) appeared in a book on Syria with the added caption "A Syrian gentleman with pipe and inkwell, ca. 1860," (see Pl. 35) the inaccuracy was in actuality only minor. However, in Arab lands outside the Ottoman orbit, such as Sharifan Morocco, Zaydi Yemen, and among the Bedouin of Arabia, men's clothing remained distinctively regional.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MUSLIM WEST: NORTH AFRICA AND MEDIEVAL SPAIN

The Muslim West, called in Arabic simply al-Maghreb (the West), which in the Middle Ages included Spain and Sicily as well as North Africa, belongs generally to the Arabo-Mediterranean vestimentary system, whose common unifying factors are rectangular tunics and loose outer wraps. Within this system, however, there has always been a great deal of regional, ethnic, and socio-economic variation. The Maghreb has been noted since the time of the Arab conquest in the second half of the 7th/1st century for its own particular styles in dress, as in other aspects of material culture. The reasons for this can be conveniently summarised as follows: (1) the physical distance of the Maghreb from the Muslim-Arab heartlands; (2) the indigenous Berber element, which always remained strong; (3) in the case of Spain, the large native Iberian population and the propinquity of Christian territory; (4) the absence of the Persian *kātib* class; and (5) the very late arrival of the Turks in Tunisia and Algeria (and their total absence from Morocco).

Since much of the information concerning medieval Arab costume—nomenclature, style, customs and institutions—applies to the Maghrebi centres of urban culture in the Middle Ages, this chapter will deal only briefly with this period, concentrating on the uniquely Maghrebi aspects of its costume history. Most of the chapter will deal with the period extending from the later Middle Ages to modern times, or approximately the last 700 years, which, it should be pointed out, has been the subject of more study than that devoted to Middle Eastern costume history for all periods combined.

Pre-Islamic foundations of Maghrebi costume

When the Arabs conquered North Africa, Punic and Byzantine influences were still alive in the cities and towns. The countryside may

also have had some Punic elements, but was overwhelmingly—if not exclusively—Berber. Even in Classical times, North Africa was noted for its distinctive style of dress. Greek and Roman authors considered the natives to be barbarians because they wore only an animal skin draped over the left shoulder covering the front and back. Garments of soft leather reminiscent of *filāṭī*, the soft leather from goatskin named for the Tafilalet region in southeast Morocco (which in European languages is called simply morocco, maroquin, etc.) were also mentioned as being worn, and indeed, some archaeological remnants have been found.¹ Both this simple style of draping and the use of leather garments continued among the Berbers well into modern times.

The most striking feature of North African clothing in Roman eyes was the flowing, unbelted tunic. Roman and Byzantine sources mention the uncinched tunic frequently and in the same attributive way that they note the trousers of the European and Asiatic barbarians. Thus, for example, Virgil speaks of *hic nomadum genus et discinctos Mulciber Afros* (*Aeneid* VIII, 724), and Corippus, the 6th-century poet of the Byzantine reconquest, says even more explicitly: *Nec tunicae manicis ornant sua brachia Mauri/Insita non ullis stringuntur cingula bullis/ Distincte . . .* (*Johannidos* II, 130-2). The basic Maghrebi tunics such as the Tunisian *qmajja*, the Algerian *'abāya*, and the Moroccan *gandūra* all fit this type. Though ample and uncinched, the tunics of the pre-Islamic period seemed to have been short, not falling below the thigh. Similar short, simple garments were common in Berber areas such as the Moroccan Rif and the Algerian Mzāb into the early 20th century.

Another distinctive feature of North African attire which continued to be a hallmark of Maghrebi style in the Islamic period is the hooded cloak, called *burnus* (*bernūs*) in Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and *silham* and *akhnīf* and less commonly *bernum* in Morocco (see Pl. 36). Gsell sees the origin of the *burnus* in the *sagum*, the simple wool cloak worn by the Roman legionnaire. E. F. Gautier points to an even more similar Roman garment, the *paenula*, a travelling cloak to which a hood (*cucullus*) was generally attached. Philologically, the word *bur-*

¹ See Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, 3rd ed. (Hachette: Paris 1928), pp. 22-38, where numerous sources are cited.

nus is probably derived from Greek and Latin *birrus*.² The term *burnus*, as has already been noted in Chapter One, existed in early Islamic Arabia, where it usually designated a bonnet, but may also have indicated a hooded cloak. The North African *burnus*-cloak was palpably different. When the Arabs invaded the Maghreb, they distinguished between two great Berber groups, whom they called the Barānis and the Butr. William Marçais, in direct response to Gautier, has suggested very plausibly—albeit with caution—that these names might reflect not genealogical or ethnic groups, but rather physical appearance; i.e., those Berbers who wore hooded garments (*barānis*), and those who wore short garments (*butr*), most likely without hoods.³ The ubiquity of *burnus* in the Maghreb may originally have been due to the fact that the Berbers in Antiquity and for the first few centuries under Islam wore no caps or headcloths. Furthermore, some Berbers shaved all or part of the head.⁴

One last distinctive feature that may be traced back to pre-Islamic times is the large wrapping cloth used as an outer garment by both men and women (albeit in quite different ways) from Libya to Morocco. This wrap which is known by various names, the most common in Arabic being *hā'ik*, *ksā'*, and *barrakān*, and in Berber *a'aban*, *akhuṣi*, *afaggu*, *tahaykt*, and many others. Gsell suggests that this primitive garment has its origins in two wraps commonly worn in Roman North Africa, the *lodix* and the *stragula*. The poet Corippus speaks of the rough wrap which the natives of North Africa wore thrown over the shoulder and enveloping the arms (*Horrida substrictus dependens stragula membris/Ex umeris demissa iacet . . .*). Ibn Khaldūn also says that most Berbers wrap themselves with a *kisā'* that is thrown over the

² Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* VI, pp. 24-26; E. F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord: les siècles obscurs* (Payot: Paris 1952), pp. 148-149 and fig. 3; Siegmund Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Georg Olms: Hildesheim 1962; repr. of Leiden 1886), pp. 50-51, where an interesting connection is made with *sagum* on p. 51, n. 2.

³ Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-‘Ibar wa-Dīwān al-Mubtada’ wa ‘l-Khabar fī Ayyām al-‘Arab wa ‘l-‘Ajam wa ‘l-Barbar* VI (Būlāq: Cairo, 1284), p. 89; William Marçais, “Les Siècles Obscurs du Maghreb d’E.-F. Gautier,” *Articles et conférences de William Marçais* (Adrien-Maisonneuve: Paris 1961), p. 74.

⁴ Thus e.g., Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-‘Ibar* VI, p. 89; *wa-ru’usuhum fī ‘l-ghālib ḥāsira*; Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, pp. 16-18, for classical sources; and also Ibn Khaldūn, *ibid.* VI, p. 89: *wa-rubbamā yata’āhadūnahā bi ‘l-ḥalq*.

shoulder (*yashtamilūna ՚l-ṣammā’ bi ՚l-aksiya*). Later European travelers from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century also took note of this rather incommodious fashion.⁵ In Islamic times, the ancient Berber wrap came to be associated with its Arabian counterparts, the *izār*, *milhafa*, etc. Insofar as it was used as a veil for women, it overlapped with eastern fashions, and sometimes the names of the Arabic counterparts were adopted and Berberized. Thus, the *milhafa* became the *tamelhaft* and the *izār* became the *tāzīr*. However, it seems clear from the sources and from the modern witness that the Maghrebi man’s enveloping wrap was, and remained, quite different in the way it was draped from Middle Eastern ones. (For examples of Maghrebi draping styles, see Pl. 37.)

Maghrebi Costume during the Early and High Middle Ages

The Arabs looked upon the Maghreb as a colonial territory even more than they did the conquered lands of the Middle East. There was almost nothing in the cultures of North Africa or Spain to command even their grudging respect or to stimulate a desire for emulation. They therefore adopted little or nothing from the native costume during the first century or so of their rule. The fashion of the urban élite was Arab. A child’s tunic dating back to the earliest Islamic period which is now in the possession of the Bardo Museum in Tunis is very similar to garments from the same time in the Coptic Museum in Cairo.⁶ The 10th/4th-century geographer al-Muqaddasī observed that Maghrebis dressed in the Egyptian fashion (*wa-bi ՚l-Maghrib rusūmuhum miṣriyya*—that *rusūm* here refers to custom in dress is clear from the continuation of the text).⁷ The many references to clothing in Ifrīqiya (medieval Tunisia) collected by H.

⁵ Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l’Afrique du Nord*, p. 29, n. 6; Corippus, *Johannidos* II, 134; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-’Ibar* VI, p. 89. For European travelers, see Georges Marçais, *Le costume musulman d’Alger* (Librairie Plon: Paris, 1930), pp. 25-30, where numerous sources are cited.

⁶ See M. Fendri, “Un vêtement islamique ancien au Musée du Bardo,” *Africa* 2 (1967-1968), pp. 241-71.

⁷ al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāṣīm fī ma’rifat al-Aqālīm*, ed. M. J. DeGoeje (Brill: Leiden, 1906), p. 239.

R. Idris for the 10th-12th/4th-6th centuries correlate fairly well with what is known of Middle Eastern attire during that period. Thus, for example, the *qamīṣ* and the *ghilāla* were the main body shirts, and the *jubba* and *durrā'a* the main robes. Both *sirwāl* and *mi'zar* were common forms of underwear. The principal headcovering for men of the urban upper class was the *'imāma*, while the commonfolk more customarily wore either a *qalansuwa* or a *shāshiyya*. Women wore over their *qamīṣ* a variety of robes including the *thawb*, the *jubba*, or a patchwork dress known as the *muraqqa'a*, and they veiled their face with the *mīqā'a*. The only items that were distinctly Maghrebi were the *kisā'*, which was used by both sexes, the *kurzīyya* (from Berber *takerzīt*) which was a simple winding cloth used by men for the head, and *agrāq* (sing. *qurq*), native cork-soled sandals which were worn by men and women.⁸ According to al-Muqaddasī, in the Maghreb even the traditional Arab *ridā'* was worn draped like a *kisā'* or *burnus*.⁹

Medieval Andalusian Attire

The early Umayyad *amīrs* in Spain tried as best they could to maintain the material culture of Syria, and it may be safely assumed that the dress of the small Arab élite and their epigones (*musta'ribūn*) during the eighth/second and ninth/third centuries remained generally faithful to the styles of the Damascus caliphate.

The newer Islamic styles with their oriental influences became the fashion of the upper classes when the Iraqi singer Ziryāb, arrived from Baghdad at the court of Cordova in 822/207, where he established himself as the Andalusian Petronius. He was not only the *arbiter elegantiarum* in regard to the cut, color, and fabric of clothes, but established the proper season for each outfit.¹⁰ It was he who estab-

⁸ H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zirides* II (Adrien-Maisonneuve: Paris 1962), pp. 594-600. Concerning the *kurzīyya*, see R. P. A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes* (Jean Müller: Amsterdam, 1845), pp. 380-2; for *agrāq*, see *ibid.*, pp. 362-363; *idem*, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 3rd ed. 2 vols. (Brill: Leiden, 1967) II, p. 334; and Idris, *op. cit.*, p. 597; cf. Sp. *alcorque*.

⁹ al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāṣīm*, p. 239.

¹⁰ al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-Tīb fī Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb [Analects sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne]* II (Brill: Leiden, 1861), p. 88, citing Ibn Ḥayyān.

lished the *jubba* as the standard robe for both sexes. One eastern fashion which only took limited root in Spain was the wearing of the turban ('imāma), which was reserved mainly for the Mālikī jurists (*fuqahā'*). Bare heads or heads crowned with a red or green wool cap (*ghifāra*) were commonplace for much of the Spanish population of all classes. Most of the figures that appear in the genre scenes on carved ivory pyxes from Umayyad Spain appear to be bareheaded (see Pl. 38).¹¹

The *qalansuwa* and the *taylasān* were also in vogue after the arrival of Ziryāb. The last 'Āmirid *hājib* 'Abd al-Rahmān Sanchuelo increased his already great unpopularity in 1009/399 by ordering courtiers to give up their colorful, embellished high *qalansuwas* (*qalānisihim al-tiwal al-muraqqasha al-mulawwana*) which had been for ages their status symbols (*tijanahum*) and to wear turbans in the style worn by the Berber military. This particular style was soon abandoned when two months later his rule came to its violent end. However, turbans began to become more widespread during the period of the so-called Party Kings (1009-1090/399-483) with North African styles coming into vogue under the Almoravids and Almohads (1090-1145/483-540 and 1172-1223/568-620). Judging from the illuminations in the *Hadīth Bayād wa-Riyād*, a thirteenth-century manuscript from either Spain or Morocco, there were a variety of turbans worn at this time. They included a very large ovoid turban, usually of colored cloth, which was worn somewhat askew (see Pl. 39), a turban of average size and rounded shape, of white cloth with a long hanging tail (*dhu'āba*) behind, and rounded turban of intermediate size and of colored cloth with what appears to be a pointed cap protruding through the crown (see Pl. 40). All of the turbans in the manuscript have a rectangular, gilded *tirāz* band, which is on the *dhu'āba* of one and on the front, off center to one side above the forehead on the others.¹² The turban remained the headgear required by protocol at the Naṣrid court in

¹¹ For additional examples, see e.g., Jerrilynn D. Dodds (ed.), *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* (Metropolitan Museum of Art: New York, 1992), pp. 193-206, items 3-5 and 6; E. Kühnel, *Islamic Art and Architecture* (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, N.Y. 1966), Pl. 12a; W. M. Watt and P. Cachia, *A History of Islamic Spain*, (University of Edinburgh Press: Edinburgh, 1965), Pls. 5 and 7.

¹² The manuscript is in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican) ms. arabo 368.

Granada until the fall of that last Andalusian Muslim dynasty in 1492.¹³

There was with the passage of time considerable intermingling of styles between the Christian North and the Muslim South. The Spanish peasant's frock, *sayo*, in Ar. *shāya* (from Lat. *sagum*) was commonly worn in the countryside. Soldiers wore a scarlet cape, called *qabā'*, similar to that worn in Christian territory. Though a homonym for the ubiquitous Persian coat worn in the Middle East, the Andalusian *qabā'* was obviously derived from Spanish *capo* or *capa* (whence the English "cape") and not from Persian.¹⁴

Oriental fashion progressively gave way—perhaps as a partial corollary to the Reconquista—to a uniquely Andalusian style or cut (*tafiṣīl*). By the 13th/7th century, an Easterner in the turban and robes of the Levant was regarded as a curiosity.¹⁵

It is interesting to note that although Muslim women in Spain wore the various veils used in the Middle East, such as the *khimār*, *burqu'*, *miqna'a*, and *izār*, they were not always too strict about it. The poet al-Ramādī saw the beautiful Khalwa at the Bāb al-‘Aṭṭārīn, a popular gathering place for women in Cordova, and fell in love with her at first sight. Although she was unveiled, he did not know whether she was slave or free. The roguish poet of *zajal* (verses in the vernacular), Ibn Quzmān, tells of a married Berber woman he met and with whom he had an affair. She is described as wearing only a diadem or fillet (*tāj*) on her head (see Pl. 39). The wearing of *tijān*, or crowns and diadems of various sorts remained part of festive dress in the Andalusian urban society of Morocco until modern times. In the *Hadīth Bayād wa-Riyād*, manuscript, the wealthy mistress of the house is invariably depicted wearing a chiseled golden crown (see Pls. 41 and 42). Jurists complain of the heretical innovation among the common people whereby a man allows his wife or fiancée to unveil in front of someone other than an immediate male relative. This laxity may have been due to the influence of the large non-Muslim popu-

¹³ Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib fī Akhbār al-Andalus wa ‘l-Maghrib* III, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Dār al-Thiqāfa: Beirut, n.d.; repr. of Paris, 1930), p. 48.

¹⁴ For the *shāya*, see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane* III (Maisonue et Larose: Paris, 1967), p. 425; and Dozy, *Vêtements*, pp. 212-213; for the *qabā'* see Lévi-Provençal, *ibid.*, p. 429; and Dozy, *ibid.*, p. 360.

¹⁵ Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane* III, p. 429.

lation or of the considerable Berber element, or both. Even women who were normally veiled would bare their faces when in mourning. In fact, a handbook for judges and market inspectors from twelfth/sixth-century Seville stipulates that hawkers should be kept out of cemeteries to prevent their ogling unveiled women. Perhaps, too, the apparently less strict veiling practices of al-Andalus reflect what some scholars have believed to be the freer, less secluded position of women there than in the Middle East.¹⁶

The Berber Empires and their successor states

Middle Eastern influences in Maghrebi dress—as in other aspects of material culture—declined greatly from the late 11th/5th century onward. Indigenous Berber and Spanish influences became stronger than ever. The major factors in the increasing “Berberization” and “Andalusianization” were the rise of extensive Berber empires that united the Maghreb with what remained of Muslim Spain. This occurred at a time of growing isolation, when the Arab East was coming under the rule of Turkish military régimes with their own language, customs, and style of dress (see Chapter Three) and when the arteries of communication between Maghreb and Mashriq, though by no means cut, were not as smooth as in preceding centuries, because of the war, instability, and the overall decline of Muslim sea

¹⁶ For some of the veils worn by Andalusian women, see for example, Henri Pérès, *La poésie andalouse, en Arabe classique au XI^e siècle*, 2nd rev. ed. (Adrien-Maisonneuve: Paris, 1953), pp. 179, 180, and 329. For al-Ramādī’s encounter with Khalwa, see Ibn Ḥazm, *Tawq al-Ḥamāma*, ed. Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafi (al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā: Cairo n.d.), pp. 22-23. For Ibn Quz̄mān and the Berber girl, see J. T. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry* (University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1974), pp. 264 (Eng. trans.) and 265 (Ar. text). Monroe translates *tāj* as garland, but either a diadem or fillet is more likely. For the jurists’ complaint, see Ibn ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf, *Risāla fi ʿādāb al-ḥisba wa ʿl-muḥtaṣib*, R. Arié, *Hespéris-Tamuda*, 1 (1960), p. 32. On the custom of going unveiled during mourning, see Pérès, *op. cit.*, p. 103; also Ibn ‘Abdūn, *Risāla fi ʿl-qadā’ wa ʿl-ḥisba*, trans. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane au début du XII^e siècle: Le traité d’Ibn ‘Abdūn* (G.P. Maisonneuve: Paris, 1947), p. 59, para. 53. For a review of the scholarly debate on the relative freedom of women in Islamic Spain, see María J. Viguera, “*Aslalu li ʿl-Ma‘ālī: On the Social Status of Andalusī Women*,” in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* II, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Brill: Leiden, New York, and Köln, 1994), pp. 708-724.

power. Lastly, the urban centers of high culture in Ifrīqiya which had set the fashion for much of North Africa were in ruins after the invasion of the Banū Hilāl and Banū Sulaym Bedouin in the second half of the eleventh/fifth century.¹⁷ Further west, Morocco was a center of power and Spain a center of culture. Once united, they would become the focal point of style for the rest of the Maghreb.

The rise of the Almoravids paralleled in a sense a contemporary phenomenon in the East. They were a non-Arab ruling élite who wore their own distinguishing uniform. They dressed in Saharan Berber fashion, and are described as being untouched by Mediterranean civilisation, knowing no agriculture and never having eaten bread until it was brought to them by Muslim traders.¹⁸ The main feature setting the Almoravids apart from their subjects was their face veil (*lithām*) which masked the lower half of their face), hence their nickname of *al-mulaththamūn*, or “those who wear the *lithām*. Ibn Khaldūn notes that many Saharan people were *mulaththamūn* even in his own day.¹⁹ The style was essentially the same as that of the modern Tuaregs (see Pl. 43).

Almoravid dress was not for the subject population, just as Mamluk and Il-Khanid military attire was not for their subjects either. In fact, Ibn ‘Abdūn in his *hisba* manual (for the use of market inspectors) warns against permitting even the other Berbers in the service of the Almoravids to wear the *lithām* in the streets of Seville because of the fear it struck in the population. He does allow non-Almoravid Berber militia men to use either a *khimār* or a *mi’zar*, or other similar veils if they must cover their face. The same applies to mercenary troops and weapons bearers.²⁰

The Almoravids also wore the *‘imāma* and *bernūs*. There were some

¹⁷ See the observations of Ibn Khaldūn on the destructive nature of Bedouin Arab conquest on sedentary civilization in his *Muqaddima* (Qāsim Muhammad al-Rajab: Baghdad, n. d., repr. Beirut, 1900), pp. 149-151; Franz Rosenthal, tr., *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* (Pantheon Books: New York, 1958), vol. 2, pp. 302-305.

¹⁸ Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Mughrib fī Dhikr Bilād Ifrīqiya wa ’l-Maghrib*, ed. M. de Slane (Imprimerie du Gouvernement: Algiers 1857), p. 164-165; also Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-‘Ibar* VI, p. 181.

¹⁹ Ibn Khaldūn *Kitāb al-‘Ibar* VI, pp. 197-198f.

²⁰ Ibn ‘Abdūn, *Séville musulmane au début du XII^e siècle: Le traité d’Ibn ‘Abdūn*, pp. 61-63, para. 56.

Andalusians who donned these items in order to ingratiate themselves with their new masters, even though their own compatriots laughed at them.²¹ However, it is interesting to note that Mudejars (Muslims permitted to remain in the Christian kingdoms of the early Reconquista are depicted even in the century following the Almoravids as wearing turbans, both with and without the *tahnīk*) (see Pl. 44).

The Andalusians found little to copy from the Almoravids. However, the latter found a great deal worthy of emulation in Spanish civilisation. Under Almoravid rule, Andalusian culture spread into Morocco together with, certainly, Andalusian fashions. This movement of styles across the Straits of Gibraltar mainly from north to south would continue under the Almohads and in varying degrees under their successors.

The rise of the Almohads had a more direct and lasting influence on Maghrebi costume history. The Mahdī Ibn Tūmart's (died 1130/524) puritanism extended to matters of dress. His biographer al-Baydhaq relates that on his return home from the East, the Mahdī upbraided the people of Bijāya for wearing sandals with gilded laces (*al-aqrāq al-zarrāriyya*) and turbans not in the Muslim fashion ('*amā'īm al-jāhiliyya*), and for men wearing *fatūhiyyāt*, which was apparently a tunic, open or slit in front, normally for women.²² The prudish Mahdī had to cover his face when passing adorned and unveiled female *laban* (cultured sour milk) vendors in the streets of Tlemcen.²³ His full wrath was heaped upon the Almoravid rulers themselves. In the Friday mosque of Marrakesh, he called the veiled *amīr* and his retinue "veiled slavegirls" (*jawārī munaqqabāt*). When he encountered the princess al-Šūra unveiled as was customary among Almoravid women, he reprimanded her so severely that she went crying to her brother the *amīr*.²⁴

Like all Berbers, the Almohads wore the *burnus* (also *burnūs*) and the

²¹ Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Hulla al-Siyarā'*, in R. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen age* I, 3rd ed. (Brill: Leiden; Maisonneuve: Paris, 1881) p. LI.

²² al-Baydhaq, *Ta'rikh al-Muwahhidīn*, ed. in E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade* (Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner: Paris, 1928), p. 52, Ar. text and glossary, pp. 241-242, s.v.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²⁴ al-Baydhaq, *Ta'rikh al-Muwahhidīn* in *Documents inédits*, pp. 61 and 68; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-‘Ibar* VI, p. 227.

kisā'. They normally wore the form of turban known as *kurzīyya*.²⁵ Under the Ḥafṣids, who ruled the eastern Maghreb from 1229-1574/627-982 as the heirs of the Almohad tradition, the descendants of the great Almohad families wore the *taylasān* with the ends criss-crossed in front like the Arabic letters *lām-alif*.²⁶ It was not long, however, before the early Almohad simplicity in dress gave way to the luxuries of al-Andalus. The Ḥafṣids bestowed magnificent robes of honor (*khi-la'* *saniyya*) upon their favorites following the practice of most Islamic rulers.²⁷

From the Almohad period onwards, veiling for women was more strictly observed throughout North Africa and Muslim Spain. The Almohads also instituted one of the most unusual applications of the laws of *ghiyār*. Suspecting the sincerity of the large number of Jews who had converted to Islam under duress, the caliph Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb (reigned 1184-1199/580-595) ordered that all these neophytes should wear particularly bizarre distinguishing clothing, the details of which are discussed below in Chapter Five. It may be considered part of the Almohad heritage that in Morocco, the heartland of Almohadism, throughout the later Middle Ages and until modern times, the dress code for Jews was one of the most strictly applied in the Muslim world.

There were no great changes in Maghrebi fashion with the passing of the Almohads. The Ḥafṣids in Tunisia, the Zayyānids in Algeria, and the Marīnids in Morocco, were all in a sense successors rather than supplacers of the Almohads. The information on Tunisian dress culled by Brunschwig correlates well with what is known from the preceding period. Local names for special varieties of garments appear more frequently now, as for example, *barraqān*, the heavy wrap for men and the *safsārī*, the light wrap for women. Both are mentioned as being commonly worn in Tunisia, and both are known from earlier centuries as well.²⁸

²⁵ al-Baydhāq, *Ta’rīkh al-Muwahhidīn*, pp. 72-72.

²⁶ Robert Brunschwig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Ḥafṣides des origines à la fin du XV^e siècle II* (Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris 1947), p. 278.

²⁷ al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-Mu‘jib fī Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. R. Dozy (Brill: Leiden 1881), pp. 175, 184, 230.

²⁸ Brunschwig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, pp. 276 and 280. Concerning these garments in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Y. K. Stillman, “Female

Leo Africanus's description of clothing worn in early sixteenth/tenth-century Fez also shows considerable continuity in the general outlines:

The inhabitants of Fez, by whom I mean the nobles, are truly distinguished people. In winter they wear clothing of imported fabric. Their attire is composed of a very close-fitting jacket with half sleeves, which is worn over the shirt. Over the jacket, they wear a large robe stitched in front. Over this they put the burnus. On the head, they have a cap like certain ones worn at night in Italy, but without ear flaps. On these caps they place a turban of linen that is wound twice around the skull and passes under the chin. They wear neither high nor low hosiery, but rather linen pantaloons. When they wish to go horseback riding in winter, they wear boots. The ordinary people wear the jacket and the burnus, but without the robe, and on their heads nothing except for one of these inexpensive caps. The learned doctors and gentlemen of a certain age are accustomed to wearing jackets with large sleeves like Venetian gentlemen do who occupy the highest professions. As for the people of the lowest social order, they are clothed with a white cloth of unrefined local wool, and their burnus is of the same cloth. The women are very well dressed. In hot weather, however, they wear only a chemise cinched with a rather ugly belt. In winter, they wear robes with large sleeves, stitched in front like the men's. When they go out, they wear pantaloons of a length to cover all their legs and a veil in the fashion of the women of Syria, which covers their head and their entire body. Their face is likewise covered by a piece of linen so that only the eyes are exposed. They wear large, round earrings of gold set with beautiful gemstones. They also have gold bracelets on their wrists, one on each arm. These commonly weigh one hundred ducats [approximately 350 grams]. Women who are not of the nobility wear silver, and they also wear them on their ankles.²⁹

The jacket (which could well mean a longer coatlike garment) worn by both sexes mentioned by Leo Africanus is probably the *qaftān*, and the robe over it a *farajīyya* or *fawqīyya* (see figs.7-8). The women's enveloping wrap is the ubiquitous *hā'ik*, and the piece of linen veiling the entire face below the eyes is the *lithām*.

Attire of Medieval Egypt: According to the Trousseau Lists and Cognate Material from the Cairo Geniza" (Ph. D. Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1972)," pp. 42-43 and 62-63.

²⁹ Jean-Léon Africain, *Description de l'Afrique* I, trans. A. Épaulard (Adrien-Maisonneuve: Paris 1956), pp. 207-208.

Clothes are mentioned by the Marīnid historian Ibn al-Āhmar in connection with the popular Moroccan belief in *baraka*, the blessedness of a charismatic individual. The Amīr ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Maḥyū was considered by the Zanāta Berbers to be a possessor of *baraka* and a *mujāb al-du‘ā* (one whose prayers are answered). His *qalansuwa* and *sarāwīl* would be sent to women in difficult labor to ease the travail of birth.³⁰

With the passing of the Almohads, the Muslims of al-Andalus for the most part abandoned the turbans they had worn briefly now and again during the previous century of Berber rule. According to the fourteenth/eighth-century geographer al-‘Umarī—and this observation is confirmed by other writers—it was rare to find anyone with a turban. According to al-‘Umarī’s contemporary, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, turbans were only commonly worn in Granada by shaykhs, qādīs, scholars, and Arab militia.³¹

Multi-coloured garments were popular in post-Almohad al-Andalus. The wealthy wore garments of the fine gilded silk (*al-washy al-mudhahhab*) produced in Almeria, Murcia, and Malaga or special silken clothes (*al-libās al-muharrar*) called *mulabbad mukhattam* (“felted, checked”) made in Granada and Basta.³² Rachel Arié has noted that fashions of the neighboring Christian kingdoms already influenced the mode of Andalusian dress in the early days of the Nasrids. The *sayo* (Ar. *shāya*) mentioned above was worn not only by peasants, but even by the Nasrid monarch when out riding. The *marlota* (Ar. *mallūṭa*), a sleeved outer garment whose precise details are vague, and the *capellar* (Ar. *qābillār*), a hooded cloak shorter than the *burnus*, were among the new fashions.³³

³⁰ Ibn al-Āhmar, *Rawdat al-Nīsrīn fī Dawlat Banī Marīn* (al-Maṭba‘a al-Malikiyya: Rabat, 1962/1382), p. 15.

³¹ al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, Gaudefroy-Demombynes (Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner: Paris 1927), pp. 234 and 235. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Ḥāfiṭa fī Ta’rīkh Gharnāṭa*, cited together with al-Maqqarī and others in *ibid.*, p. 234, n. 4.

³² al-Maqqarī, *Analectes*, I, p. 123.

³³ Rachel Arié, *L’Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides (1232-1492)* (É. de Boccard: Paris, 1973), pp. 382 and 386.

From the end of the Middle Ages to modern times

The basic outlines of Maghrebi costume remained quite constant from the end of the Middle Ages up to and well into the period of colonial domination. Certain new fashion elements were brought into the region by the Turks in Tunisia and Algeria and by the Moriscos and Sephardic Jewish refugees from Spain in these countries and Morocco as well. Most of the clothing innovations which were introduced by the Sephardim, the Andalusian Muslims, and the Turks remained particular to their own ethnic group. Thus, for example, the *jaltūta* (Spanish *giraldetta*), a whirling skirt, was worn in Morocco only by Jewish and Andalusian women.³⁴ In fact an entire outfit based on late fifteenth-century Spanish prototypes became the standard wedding and festive dress of urban Moroccan Jewish women. This outfit, known in Arabic as the *kiswa al-kabīra*, or “great costume,” and in Ḥaketía (the Judeo-Spanish dialect of Northern Morocco) as *el traje berberisco*, or “the native dress,” consisted of the *jaltūta* skirt, a blouse, a jacket or corselet called *qumbayz* (diminutive of later Arabic *qumbāz*, Classical Arabic *ghunbāz*) with detachable sleeves as was common in Europe at the time, an embroidered frontpiece, called *uzha* (from Arabic *wajh*) or *ktef*, and a wide sash, called *hizām* (see Pls. 45 and 46).³⁵ This majestic outfit struck many of the European travelers who visited Morocco over the centuries and was the subject of vivid descriptions in their accounts. It was also captured in paintings and drawings by European artists such as Eugène Delacroix and Alfred Dehodencq.³⁶

³⁴ All of the various components of this costume had Judeo-Spanish names as well as the Arabic ones. See also Yedida K. Stillman, “Hashpa‘ot Sefardiyyot ‘al ha-Tarbut ha-Ḥōmrīt shel Yehūdē Marōqō,” in *The Sephardi and Oriental Jewish Heritage*, ed. I. Ben-Ami (Magnes Press: Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 361-362 and Pls. 1-4.

³⁵ Yedida K. Stillman, “The Costume of the Jewish Woman in Morocco,” in *Studies in Jewish Folklore*, ed. F. Talmage. (Association for Jewish Studies: Cambridge, Mass., 1980), pp. 350-351 and 366-370, Pls. 10-14.

³⁶ See, for example, the description given by the English physician William Lemprière, who was in Morocco during the year 1789-1790. William Lemprière, *A Tour from Gibraltar to Tangier, Sallee, Mogodore, Santa Cruz, Tarudant; and thence, over Mount Atlas, to Morocco: Including a Particular Account of the Royal Harem, &c.*, 2nd ed. (J. Walter: London, 1793), pp. 203-204. The *kiswa kabīra* is also described by Lemprière’s contemporary Romanelli. See Samuel Romanelli, *Travail in an Arab Land*, trans. by Yedida K. Stillman and Norman A. Stillman (University of Alabama Press: Tuscaloosa, 1989), p. 66. For depictions by Delacroix, Dehodencq and others,

Another example of a item of clothing that remained with the ethnic group that brought it to North Africa is the high, brimless hats known as *ṭarṭūr* and *ṭarṭūra* in Algeria. The miter-like hats which were somewhat reminiscent of the *qalansuwa ḥawīla* of the Middle Ages were part of the uniform of the Turkish military élite, and as late as the eighteenth/twelfth century, the Turkish-style *dulband*, or turban, was not permitted to native North Africans.³⁷ The Turkish-style turban, called in Algerian Arabic, ‘imāma mubarraja, was however permitted to religious officials such as qādīs and muftis (see Pl. 47). Nevertheless, Ottoman modes of dress did make themselves felt in the urban centres of Algeria and Tunisia. The *jaleco* (Turk. *yelek*) was very popular in Algeria, and the high, split cone, metal head piece, known as the *sārma*, became a general fashion for women in Algeria and Tunisia.³⁸ Likewise, the *jabadūl*, or *jabadūr*, a short coat brought by Jews and Andalusians fleeing Christian Spain and Portugal became widespread in the cities of Morocco and Algeria. In Morocco, this garment which enjoyed wide popularity among Muslims and Jews was manufactured exclusively by Jewish tailors.³⁹

Most remarkable is the conservative nature of draping patterns in men’s clothing, which as we have seen go back to the world of Antiquity. Also interesting to note is the widespread use of fibulae to fasten garments. The Maghrebi fibula, called *bzīma*, *khellāla*, *kifīyya*, and in Berber *tabzīmt*, *tizerzay*, and *tazerzīt*, has been shown to go back to Antique prototypes (see Pl. 48).⁴⁰

see Aviva Müller-Lancet and Dominique Champault, *La vie juive au Maroc* (Israel Museum Catalogue no. 103: Jerusalem, 1986), pp. 246-253 and in numerous plates throughout the catalogue.

³⁷ Georges Marçais, *Le costume musulman d’Alger*, (Librairie Plon: Paris, 1930), pp. 53-58.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-119, and Pls. XXIX, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV.

³⁹ See Louis Brunot, “Noms de vêtements masculins à Rabat,” in *Mélanges René Basset*, (Publications de l’Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines X: Paris, 1924) I, pp. 97-98.

⁴⁰ H. Camps-Fabrier, “L’origine des fibules berbères d’Afrique du Nord,” in *Mélanges Le Tourneau = ROMM* nos. 13-14 (1973), pp. 217-230.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE LAWS OF DIFFERENTIATION AND THE CLOTHING OF NON-MUSLIMS

The Origin and Evolution of the Pact of ‘Umar and Ghiyār in the Early Islamic Centuries

The great Islamic conquests of the seventh and early eighth centuries brought enormous numbers of non-Muslim, non-Arab peoples under the rule of what came to be known as the *Dār al-Islām*, the Domain of Islam. The conquering Arabs found themselves a tiny minority in an empire that stretched from Central Asia to the Atlantic. According to the precedent established by the koranic injunction (Sura 9:29) to fight unbelieving People of the Book (i.e., Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians) and by the Prophet’s dealings with Christians and Jews in Arabia, the Muslim Arabs accepted the surrender of peoples of the scriptural faiths on condition that they become humble tribute bearers. The details of tribute and rules of humility were only regularized over time and eventually formed the basis of a theoretical treaty or writ of protection between non-Muslims and the Islamic state called the Pact (and also the Stipulations) of ‘Umar. The Pact supposedly was drawn up by the second caliph ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and perhaps was even based upon several of the agreements of surrender drawn up with the Christians of Syria and Palestine and more particularly the surrender agreement extended by ‘Umar to Sophronios, the patriarch of Jerusalem. However, most scholars agree that many of the refinements and stipulations spelled out in the Pact actually date from nearly a century later, from caliphate of the Umayyad ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, who in addition to personal piety and austerity was also known for his generally hardline attitude toward non-Muslims many of whom he dismissed from the civil service. The treaty stated *inter alia* that in return for protection of life and property and the right to worship unmolested, the protected peoples (*ahl*

al-dhimma or *dhimmīs*) had to pay their tribute, behave with the demeanor of a subject population, not bear arms, ride horses, nor in any way try to resemble the overlords, including in matters of dress. A number of these restrictions had a two-fold purpose—first, a military or security purpose, and second, that of establishing a social hierarchy. Both purposes, however, required visibly differentiating the overlords from their subjects. At first, this was easy enough to observe since Arabs and non-Arabs generally did not dress alike in any case, and the Arabs settled mainly in their own separate enclaves, the *amṣār*. But more and more people began converting to Islam and as a general Islamic fashion began to develop throughout the caliphate, and as Islamic law came to be expounded, it became necessary to stipulate just what differentiation meant. Clothing in a sense became the medieval equivalent of the *dhimmī*'s alien residence card within the Islamic state, just as the *barā'a*, of receipt for the annual payment of the poll tax (*jizya*) was the equivalent of his passport.¹

With regard to clothing the Pact of 'Umar states:

We shall not attempt to resemble the Muslims in any way with regard to their dress, as for example, with the *qalansuwa*, the *'imāma*, sandals, or parting the hair (in the Arab fashion). . . . We shall not engrave our signets in Arabic. . . . We shall always adorn ourselves in our traditional fashion. We shall bind the *zunnār* around our waists.²

Beyond the injunction not to try and look like Arabs, it is not clear what specific provisions might go back to the early documents of surrender. Nor is there much in the way of written evidence for specific dress restrictions during the entire Umayyad period. But then, it should be borne in mind that all of the Arabic written sources—except for some early papyri—date from after the time of the Umayyad downfall.

The earliest clear legal source—and indeed one of the earliest Islamic legal treatises—dealing with dress restrictions for *dhimmīs* comes from the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. It is the *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (Book of

¹ For a succinct discussion of this subject, see Norman A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands: A History and Source Book* (Jewish Publication Society: Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 24-28.

² al-Turṭūshī, *Sīrāj al-Mulūk* (n.p.: Cairo, 1872/1289), pp. 229-230, as translated in Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands*, pp. 158-159.

Taxation) of the Chief Qādī Abū Yūsuf (died 807/192). Despite the title, the book deals with more than taxation and covers public policy, criminal justice, and many related subjects. One chapter is devoted to “The Dress and Attire of the *Ahl al-Dhimma*.” The chapter reiterates the principal that “no *dhimmī* should be allowed to resemble a Muslim in his manner of dress, his mount, or his appearance.” Furthermore, all non-Muslims “should be obliged to place the *zunnār* around their waists.” This belt is defined as looking like “a thick cord.” *Dhimmī* headgear should consist of a *qalansuwa* of checkered patchwork (*mudarraba*). After these generalities applying to all non-Muslims, Abū Yūsuf turns to more specific sartorial restrictions applying to Christians. He quotes from a letter written by ‘Umar II to one of his governors, concerning Christians, many of whom worked in the bureaucracy at that time. “No Christian should wear a *qabā’*, a garment of *khazz* silk, or an ‘*asb* turban.” These items were, of course, standard dress in official circles during the ‘Abbasid period, and it is likely that the injunction is aimed at Christians in Abū Yūsuf’s own day. In the letter quoted by Abū Yūsuf, the caliph chides his governor for ignoring Christians under his jurisdiction who had gone back to wearing turbans, had abandoned distinguishing belts, and adopted luxuriant as opposed to short clipped hairstyles. Whether or not ‘Umar II actually wrote such a letter (Abū Yūsuf does not actually have the text, but has been told about it by someone who heard about it from his father), it is clear that the chief qādī is admonishing his own caliph not to overlook such infractions by *dhimmī* members of his own entourage and civil service.³

The great jurist’s concern that the laws mandating physical differentiation of non-Muslims from Muslims, especially in the upper echelons of society, were often ignored was well grounded. Hārūn’s own Christian physician, Jibrā’īl b. Bukhtīshū‘ is reported to have persuaded the caliph to rescind a decree (one of many such periodic decrees throughout the course of Islamic history) issued in 806/191 strictly enforcing the laws of differentiation on the non-Muslim population of Baghdad. Jibrā’īl’s son, Bukhtīshū‘ b. Jibrā’īl, who himself was a court physician under Hārūn’s grandson, al-Mutawakkil, wore

³ Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (al-Maṭba‘a al-Salafiyya: Cairo, 1382 A.H.), pp. 127-128.

luxury clothing like any high-placed Muslim courtier. He had a *jubba* of *washy* silk reported to have cost 1000 dinars.⁴ Pious complaints against the ostentation of non-Muslim officials are a recurrent theme throughout Arabic literature. Muslim rulers particularly in later times often in a show of piety issued decrees renewing the laws of *ghiyār* either at the beginning of their reigns or in times of social or political stress.

As already noted in Chapter 2, al-Mutawakkil issued such a decree in 850/235 in which he commanded that in addition to the traditional *zunnār*, *dhimmīs* wear honey-colored outer garments, buttons on their *qalansuwas*, and badge-like patches on their servants' clothing. This was the beginning of a long tradition of differentiating by color. It reflected the fact that people throughout the Muslim world wore a general Islamic fashion which had integrated the elements of the different vestimentary systems that had existed previously. The colors and badges changed over time and place, but the principle remained the same. From time to time attempts were also made at legislating stylistic differences as well, such as sleeve length, turban size or even type of headcovering, types of footwear, etc.

Al-Mutawakkil's decree enforcing restrictions on non-Muslims may be seen as part of his overall attempt to win popularity, to garner support from the Traditionalists, and to break free of the Turkish praetorians by establishing his orthodox credentials. The decree was part of the same policy whereby he broke with the Mu'tazilite theology which had been official 'Abbasid doctrine since the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, and destroyed the shrine at Kerbala, which was a center of Shi'ite pilgrimage.⁵

The ninth/third century may well have been a turning point when the attitude of Islamic authorities began to crystallize and harden with regard to *ghiyār*, or differentiation of non-Muslims from Muslims with respect to dress. Perhaps this was due, on the one hand to the evolution and development of the *shari'a*, or Muslim law within the Islamic legal schools, and on the other, to the by-now vast numbers of conversions and the arabization of the population at large, which

⁴ al-Qiftī, *Tarīkh al-Hukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert (Dieterich: Leipzig, 1903), p. 102.

⁵ Hugh Kennedy, "al-Mutawakkil 'Alā 'llāh," *EJ* VII, p. 778; and idem, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (Longman: London and New York, 1986), pp. 169-170.

made it ever more difficult on the street and in the marketplace to tell who was and who was not a Believer. Far away from Iraq and the central heartlands, sometime during the ninth century, Ahmad b. Tālib, the Mālikī qādī of Qayrawan, the capital of Aghlabid Ifrīqiya, issued an order for *dhimmīs* to wear a patch (*nuq'a*) of white fabric on the shoulder of their outer garments. The patch for Jews had the image of an ape and the patch for Christians the image of pig.⁶ The imagery which became standard throughout the centuries in anti-*dhimmī* propaganda and polemic when referring to Jews and Christians, respectively, was based on two passages in the Qur'ān. In Sura 2:65 and 7:163-166, Jews were reportedly metamorphosized into apes for desecrating the Sabbath, and in Sura 5:60, those cursed by Allah (Jews and Christians according to many Muslim exegetes) are transformed into apes and swine. As with the decree of al-Mutawakkil and so many other periodic decrees throughout the Middle Ages, it is not known how long Ibn Tālib's humiliating decree remained in force. One thing, however, is clear, and that is that now in the Maghrebi case, the purpose of the patch was not merely *ghiyār*, or *shakla* (also *shikla*, i.e., "a sign") as it was more commonly called in North Africa, but also *dhull* (humiliation) in keeping with the koranic injunction (Sura 9:29) that the non-Muslims should be humbled.⁷

Ninth-century North Africa was not the first instance of zoomorphic marks being used as identifying badges. Both Christian and Muslim sources report that during the caliphate of Hishām every Christian in Umayyad Egypt had a brand or tatoo (*wasm*) in the form of a lion on their hands without which they could not transact any business. Failure to wear the sign of the lion could result in amputation of the hand.⁸

⁶ H. R. Idris, "Contribution à l'histoire de l'Ifrīqiya. Tableau de la vie intellectuelle et administrative à Kairouan sous les Aglabites et les Fatimites (4 premiers siècles de l'Hégire) d'après le Riyād En Nūfūs de Abū Bakr el Mālikī," *REI* 9 (1935), pp. 141-143.

⁷ In addition to the classic passage that states that *dhimmīs* should pay tribute while (or because) they are in a state of humiliation (*wa-hum sāghirūn*), the Qur'ān (Sura 2:61) also specifically singles out the Israelites, the ancestors of the Jews, as having humiliation and wretchedness stamped upon them by God (*wa-duribat 'alayhim al-dhilla wa 'l-maskana*). For an example of referring to Jews as apes, see for example Abū Ishāq of Elvira's poetical attack on Samuel b. Naghrēla in N. A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands*, p. 214.

⁸ al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa 'l-It'ibar bi-Dhikr at Khiṭṭat wa 'l-Athār* (Būlāq: Cairo,

Zoomorphic badges for non-Muslims reappear for a brief time under the mad Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim (disappeared 1021/411) who imposed in addition to black clothing or a black *zunnār* (the sources differ on the specific details) for Jews and Christians, ordered that Jews should wear a wooden medallion in form of a calf (an allusion to the sin of the golden calf). In the bath house, where people wore only an *izār* around their loins, and hence would normally be indistinguishable, Christians had to wear a heavy iron cross around their necks and Jews a bell in place of the calf pendant. Once again, these marks of differentiation clearly also served the dual purpose of identification and humiliation as did the requirement for *dhimmī* women to wear boots (*sarmūz*) of two different colors—one red, one black—when going outdoors.⁹ These regulations supposedly remained in force for nine years. The fact that the specific duration is mentioned in the Arabic sources would seem to indicate that this was an unusually long period of time. However, in marked contrast to al-Ḥākim's decree closing or destroying the churches and synagogues of the empire, no reference to the sumptuary laws have so far been found in the documents from the Geniza which led Goitein to conclude that the clothing restrictions were probably short-lived.¹⁰ Whatever the actual length of time that these laws were enforced, they were clearly an exception to the general laxity of the Fatimid dynasty with regard to the discriminatory laws prescribed by the *shari‘a* for members of the tolerated confessional communities.

Around the same time that al-Ḥākim was issuing his decrees, his vassals, the Zirids, in the Maghreb were apparently not enforcing any dress code, at least not for members of the *dhimmī* élite in the vice-royal entourage. According to one account, the Nagid Ibrāhīm b. ‘Aṭā, who was personal physician to the Viceroy al-Mu‘izz b. Bādīs,

1853), II, p. 493; Severus ibn al-Muqaffa‘, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum*, ed. C. F. Seybold (L. Durbecq: Louvain, 1954), p. 145.

⁹ A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Critical Study of the Covenant of ‘Umar* (Humphrey Milford and Oxford University Press: London, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, 1930), p. 120 and the sources cited there in nn. 2-3. See also, Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* (Frank Cass: London, 1968; repr. of 4th ed. of 1925), p. 127.

¹⁰ S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* (University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967-1988), II, p. 286.

was mistaken for a Muslim while delivering a message from his master to the great Mālikī scholar, Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī, due to the fact that he was dressed like any other courtier and wore no distinguishing badge. The zealous scholar and jurist was so incensed when he realized that the Ibn 'Atā was Jewish, that right then and there he placed a distinguishing stain on the Jew's turban and threw him out of his presence.¹¹

In Islamic Spain at this time, there is no clear evidence attesting to whether or not the rules of *ghiyār* were imposed upon the dress of non-Muslims. Ibn Ḥazm in his polemic against the Jewish vizier of Granada, Samuel b. Naghrēla, accuses the latter of having removed "the mark of abasement (*al-saghār*) from around his neck," but whether this refers to an actual badge or is merely figurative is by no means clear.¹²

The Trend Toward Stricter Enforcement and Regularization

Poltical and social turmoil, the rise of military élites, and the pressure of new agression from the Christian world in the late eleventh and throughout the twelfth century, combined to harden Muslim attitudes toward the *dhimmī* population. This in turn resulted in calls for stricter enforcement of the laws of *ghiyār*. The handbook for market inspectors in Almoravid Seville from the early twelfth century specifically states:

No individual among the tax collectors, constables, Jews and Christians should be allowed to dress in the clothing of the nobility, nor that of a jurist, nor that of a person of good standing; rather, they should be abhorrent and shunned. . . . A distinctive sign ought to be imposed upon them which would insure their being recognized and which would constitute for them a mark of ignominy.¹³

¹¹ H. R. Idris, "Deux maîtres de l'école juridique kairouanaise sous les Zirides (XI^e siècle): Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Rahmān et Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī," *AIEO* 13 (1955), pp. 55-56.

¹² Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Radd 'alā Ibn al-Naghīla al-Yahūdī wa-Rasā'il Ukhra*, ed. I. 'Abbās (Maktabat Dār al-'Urūba: Cairo, 1960/1380), p. 47: *wa-khalā'a al-saghār 'an 'unqīhi*.

¹³ E. Lévi-Provençal, tr., *Séville musulmane au début du XII^e siècle: le traité d'Ibn 'Abdūn* (G. P. Masonneuve: Paris, 1947), p. 114. Tax collectors, always unpopular with the masses, were frequently drawn from the ranks of the *ahl al-dhimma*.

At the other end of the Islamic world, discriminatory dress laws for non-Muslims were being promulgated again by the Saljuq protectors of the 'Abbasid caliphs in Iraq and Iran. In 1091/484, during the vizierate of Abū Shuja' al-Rūdharrāwārī, a decree was promulgated ordering non-Muslims to wear distinguishing garb as 'Umar had commanded. The decree emphasized that the requirement to wear the marks of *ghiyār* fell upon *dhimmī* dignitaries as well. This decree did not remain in force for very long, and thirty-one years later, the Saljuq Sultan Maḥmūd again imposed *ghiyār* garments on the non-Muslims in Baghdad. From a Jewish eye witness, Obadiah the Proselyte, we learn that the decree required the wearing of "two yellow patches, one on the headgear." In addition to the patches, according to Obadiah:

Each Jew should have hanging on his neck a piece of lead weighing one dirham, on which the word *dhimmī* was engraved. He also should wear a belt around his waist. On the women two distinctive signs were imposed. They should wear one red and one black shoe and have a small brass bell on their necks or shoes in order to distinguish them from Muslim women.

As a result of the newly reimposed dress code, "Muslims were mocking the Jews, and the mob and their youngsters were beating them up in all the streets of Baghdad." However, as often was the case throughout Islamic history, the non-Muslims agreed to pay a significant sum of money—4,000 dinars to the caliph and 20,000 to the sultan—in return for which the decree was presumably no longer enforced. As S. D. Goitein succinctly observed, "After having been softened up in this way, the non-Muslims were of course prepared to pay the exorbitant sums demanded from them."¹⁴

By the second half of the twelfth/sixth century, the wearing of *ghiyār* seems to have become more regularized in many parts of the Islamic world. The stricter enforcement of such vestimentary differentiation was part and parcel of a general hardening of attitudes vis-à-vis non-Muslims. The Crusades, the Reconquista, social and eco-

¹⁴ Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazam* IX, p. 228; Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects*, pp. 120-121, where additional sources are cited. Goitein's observation and the translation of the Obadiah Scroll are in Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* II, p. 287.

nomic stress, and a growing institutionalization and clericalization of Islam on the one hand, coupled with a gradual decline of the Hellenistic Renaissance and its more open spirit on the other, all contributed to this.

As was already briefly mentioned in Chapter Four, one of the most unusual instances of enforced *ghiyār* occurred at this time under the reign of the Almohad caliph Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-Manṣūr. Despite the clear koranic injunction against compulsion in matters of religion (Sura 2:256) and the time-honored practice of extending to monotheists the status of protégés of the Islamic state as long as they paid tribute and they comported themselves with humility, the sectarian Almohads withdrew the traditional pact of protection and compelled the Jews and Christians in the empire to accept Islam, and *dhimmiṣ* from Tunisia to Morocco and what remained of al-Andalus outwardly professed the Muslim faith at the height of the Almohad terror. Many of the forced converts, particularly Jewish ones, continued practicing their former religion in secret. In further deviation from traditional Islamic practice, the Almohad authorities treated the forced converts as if they were still *dhimmiṣ*. Not only did they severely limit many of their civil rights, but they also made all these neophytes wear distinguishing clothing consisting of blue-black garments (*thiyāb kuhliyya*) with exaggeratedly wide sleeves (*akmām mufriṭat al-sa‘a*) which reached to the ground, and ludicrous caps (*kalawtāt ‘alā ashna’ sūra*) that resembled pack saddles (*ka-annahā ‘l-barādī*) which extended below the ears. Al-Manṣūr rationalized these extreme and highly unorthodox measures with the remark:

If I were sure of the sincerity of their Islam, I would let them mix with the Muslims . . . , and if I were sure of their unbelief, I would kill their men, enslave their children, and declare their property to be spoils for the Muslims. But I am not sure.¹⁵

His son and successor Abū ‘Abd Allāh changed the uniform to yellow garments and yellow turbans, a color it will be recalled, that was generally frowned upon since the time of the Prophet himself.¹⁶

It may be considered part of the Almohad heritage that in Moroc-

¹⁵ al-Marrākushī, *al-Mu‘jib fi Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. R. Dozy (Brill: Leiden, 1881), p. 223.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

co throughout the later Middle Ages and until modern times, the dress code for Jews was one of the most strictly applied in the Muslim world.¹⁷

The evidence of the Cairo Geniza documents seems to suggest that by the late Ayyubid period in Egypt and the Levant, the wearing of the marks of *ghiyār* by the non-Muslim subjects was the norm. Only a few members of the *dhimmi* upper class were exceptions to the rule, and at the urging of Muslim scholars, the government began to crack down upon them too. A Geniza letter from sometime around the year 1249 mentions one such crackdown: “On that day, a herald of the Sultan announced both morning and evening that the property and life of any Jew or Christian walking in the streets by day or night without a distinguishing badge (*‘alāma*) or *zunnār* would be forfeit.”¹⁸

The Apogee of Ghiyār Regulations and Enforcement Under the Mamluks

The trend toward stricter enforcement of dress restrictions for *dhimmīs* (and indeed all aspects of *al-shurūt al-‘umariyya*, “the stipulations of the Pact of ‘Umar”) in late Ayyubid and Saljuq times took on added momentum in the Mamluk period (1250-1517/648-922) in Egypt and Syria. The clothing of the non-Muslim minorities became even more distinct in this period. This was, on the one hand, part and parcel of the trend toward increased social stratification overall. But it was also due to a specific hardening of attitudes toward the non-Muslims which resulted in their increased social isolation and marginality. The ubiquity of complaints about *dhimmīs* dressing like Muslims and the wealth of sumptuary legislation imposing upon them either special clothing or some kind of badge (called variously *ruq‘a*, *‘alāma*, *shakla* depending upon time and place) bear poignant witness to what S. D. Goitein has referred to as an “obsession pestering Muslims almost throughout their entire history.” He goes on to say, “This obsession is itself, of course, a sign of the excessive importance

¹⁷ See N. A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands*, pp. 83, 304, 312, 367.

¹⁸ University Library Cambridge, TS 6 J 7, f. 3 *recto*, l. 18-*verso*, ll. 1-3, ed. in S. D. Goitein, “Mikhtav el ha-Rambam be-‘Inyanē Heqdashōt v-Idiyōt ‘al Sha’sā’āv ha-Negidim,” *Tarbiz* 34 (1965), p. 241. See also *idem*, *A Mediterranean Society* II, p. 288.

attributed to clothing and the status it confers.”¹⁹ Since the Mamluks with their strict hierarchy did not allow their Muslim Arab subjects to dress like Mamluks or ride horses as they did, they certainly were not going to allow *dhimmi*s to dress like Muslims. The fact that the rules of the dress code had to be reimposed over a number of years, as Norman Stillman has observed, “was not an indication of any great tolerance in the interim.” “Medieval regimes,” he goes on to say, “were woefully inefficient when compared with modern totalitarian states in controlling the daily lives and actions of their subjects. Decrees of many sorts had to be reissued from time to time to demonstrate official resolution.”²⁰

In Mamluk Egypt, *dhimmi*s were so-to-speak color coded by their outer garments. Beginning with a decree issued in 1301/700, Christian men had to wear a blue turban, Jews a yellow one, and Samaritans, a red one, in clear contrast to the white ‘imāma worn by Muslims. Christian, Jewish, and Samaritan women were required to appear in public in a blue, yellow, or red *izār*, respectively.²¹

In 1310/709, the Mamluk council of state considered a proposal to raise money for the exchequer made by the vizier Ibn al-Khalīlī by rescinding the requirement for members of the *dhimmi* élite to wear specially colored turbans. According to one historian, the non-Muslims were willing to pay the incredible sum of 700,000 dinars (an enormous amount of money even considering the debasement of Mamluk coinage) and were even willing to wear a patch on their turbans as long as the headdress itself was white and not colored. However, due to the impassioned intervention of the outspoken Hanbalī theologian Ibn Taymiyya, the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn reaffirmed the existing regulations.²²

¹⁹ Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* IV, p. 194. On the increased social isolation and marginality of non-Muslims in the later Middle Ages, see N. A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands*, pp. 64-107 and 255-427.

²⁰ Stillman, *ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

²¹ See al-Suyūṭī cited in S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe* I (Imprimerie Royale: Paris, 1826), pp. 145-146; and also L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume: A Survey*, (Albert Kundig: Geneva, 1952), pp. 65-66 and the additional sources cited there.

²² Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-Nihāya fi 'l-Ta'rikh* XIV (Maṭba'at al-Sa'āda: Cairo, 1939), pp. 53-54. The text is translated in Bernard Lewis, ed., *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople* II (Harper Torchbooks: New York, 1974), pp. 232-233. For another account of this same incident, see also Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 66, citing al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥādara* II (Cairo, 1299), p. 212.

Over the next four decades, political strife and instability among the ruling Bahri Mamluk élite apparently led to laxity in enforcement of the sumptuary laws for *dhimmīs*. However, in the wake of the terrible social and economic stress wrought by the Black Death which ravaged Egypt between the years 1347/748 and 1349/750, popular sentiment against non-Muslims reached new heights which exploded into attacks on Coptic officials, confiscation of church lands, and even the razing of some churches. In 1354/755, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ, responding to pressure from both the ‘ulamā’ and the mob issued a new decree reiterating the *shurūṭ al-‘umariyya*—including the color coding established half a century earlier—and adding new sumptuary regulations. The new restrictions included limitations on the size of headdresses worn by non-Muslims. (Large turbans had become fashionable at this time.) Henceforth, *dhimmī* turbans could contain no more than ten ells (between 500 and 580 cm) of winding cloth. Once again, *dhimmī* men had to wear a distinctive neck ring of iron, lead or some other base metal in public bathhouses, so that even undressed they could be clearly identified as unbelievers. (*Dhimmī* women were completely banned from baths frequented by Muslim women, probably on the reasoning that women as a group were in the words of a well-known *hadīth* “lacking in intelligence and religion” and hence were more susceptible to the corrupting influence of infidels.)²³

Both official and popular attitudes toward non-Muslims hardened under the Circassian Burjī Mamluks who took over the sultanate in 1382/784. Perhaps during no period in Islamic history were the ruling authorities more concerned with minute details of non-Muslim dress.

Edicts limiting the size of non-Muslims’ turbans were issued throughout the fifteenth/ninth century, fluctuating between five and seven ells of winding cloth. For example, in 1417/820, five ells of cloth was

²³ al-Qalqashandī, *Šubḥ al-Āshā* XIII (al-Maṭba‘a al-Amīriyya: Cairo, 1918/1293), pp. 378-379. The text is translated in N. A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands*, pp. 273-274. For other sources, on this decree, see Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 66, n. 8. For this patronizing view of women, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣahīh, Kūtāb al-Hayd*, bāb 6; and also Yedida K. Stillman, “Attitudes toward Women in Traditional Near Eastern Societies,” in *Studies in Judaism and Islam Presented to Shelomo Dov Goitein*, eds. S. Morag, I. Ben-Ami, and N. A. Stillman (Magnes Press: Jerusalem, 1981), pp. 345-360, and particularly p. 354, where this *hadīth* is discussed.

the limit for Christian turbans. In addition to turban size and color, new regulations on dress were imposed. In 1419/822, the *muhtasib*, the official who acted both as market inspector and censor of public morals, issued orders that the sleeves of garments worn by *dhimmīs* were henceforth to be cut narrow. Wide sleeves at this time were a mark of respectability. The new imposition of narrow sleeves for non-Muslims was one more highly visible mark of their inferior status and was deeply resented by them. In the words of a contemporary historian Ibn Taghrī Birdī, the *dhimmīs* “felt themselves hard pressed and made every effort to obtain the cancellation of the order, but this did not attain their goal.”²⁴ In 1450/854, a new edict reiterated the seven-ell limit on turban winding cloths. But then in 1463/868, an exception was made for moneychangers and physicians, who were now allowed ten ells of fabric. However, as L. A. Mayer has noted, even with these perennial restrictions, the *dhimmī*’s turban still “was a rather imposing head-gear,” and “whatever may be said about the length and shape of the turban, on the whole the colour was a distinguishing sign and one of the disabilities least encroached upon, as witnessed by Moslem and non-Moslem observers.”²⁵

Regional Variation in Late Medieval North Africa

Throughout the Islamic world in later medieval times, dress codes for the native non-Muslim population were not only rigorously enforced, but tended to be regionally specific in their details. The Ḥafṣids in Tunisia followed late Almohad practice and restricted Jews, who were the only *dhimmīs* remaining in the Maghreb after the Almohad forced conversions, to yellow turbans and garments. The *amīr* Abū ‘Abd Allāh, who three years later would take on the caliphal title of al-Mustanṣir, at the beginning of his reign in 1250/648 renewed these

²⁴ al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma’rifat Duwal al-Mulūk* IV, pt. 1, ed. S. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ ‘Ashūr (Maṭba’at Dār al-Kutub: Cairo, 1972), p. 495; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Ẓāhirah fi Muliūk Miṣr wa ‘l-Qāhirah* VI, ed. William Popper (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1933), p. 400; English trans., *idem, History of Egypt, 1382-1469 A. D.*, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology 17 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957), p. 69.

²⁵ Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 67.

regulations in the capital city of Tunis. The Flemish traveler Anselm Adorne in the second half of the fifteenth century observed that

the Jews of Tunis have a special attire, which is different from that of the Moors; if they do not wear distinctive clothing, they would be stoned; they sport a patch of yellow fabric on the head or the neck.²⁶

Because the patch was such a regular defining mark of indigenous Tunisian Jews not only in the Ḥafṣid period, but up to the nineteenth century, they were commonly referred to as *shikliyyūn*, that is “those who wear the sign.” As in most North African and some Middle Eastern countries, they were limited to dark attire which included a blue *jubba*, a black cap, called *shāshiyya*, around which was wrapped a dark blue silk cloth winding cloth. However, Jews from Spain who settled in Tunisia and Algeria following the wave of pogroms that swept the Christian territories of the Iberian Peninsula and the Baleares in 1391, wore clothing that was sufficiently distinct from anything worn by Muslims in North Africa to meet the requirements of differentiation by itself. These newcomers came to be called *kabbūsiyyūn*, or “those who wear the hood” (cf. Old Spanish *capuz*).²⁷

Already in late Almohad Morocco, Jewish forced converts to Islam were allowed to return to the open practice of Judaism as long they adhered to the Pact of ‘Umar and wore the requisite distinguishing clothing which is not clearly defined in the sources. By custom, urban Jews came to wear primarily black garments (see Pls. 49 and 50), the very opposite of the primarily white clothing of the Believers. In the imperial cities of Morocco—Fez, Marrakesh, and later Meknes—Jews were not allowed to wear shoes or sandals in the Muslim streets. In other principal towns, this regulation applied only when passing a mosque. An Italian Jew who spent four years in Morocco between 1786 and 1790 writes: “Every Jew when passing in front of an Arab mosque has to take off his shoes from his feet. Woe to him who

²⁶ Robert Brunschwig, *Deux récits de voyage en Afrique du Nord au XV^e siècle*, ‘Abdal-basit b. Halil et Adorne (Larose Éditeurs: Paris, 1936), p. 192; see also *idem*, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafṣides* (Adrien-Maisonneuve: Paris, 1947), p. 404.

²⁷ Brunschwig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafṣides* I, p. 405; and also H. Z. J. W. Hirschberg, *A History of the Jews in North Africa* I (Brill: Leiden, 1974), p. 382. For *kabbūs*, see Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* II (Brill: Leiden, 1967), p. 439. See also Hirschberg, *ibid.* II, p. 108.

forgets or disobeys!”²⁸ This particular form of humiliation remained in force until the late nineteenth century.²⁹

Throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries, Jews in Fez wore straw footgear, called *tabbān*, when walking through the Muslim medina, but were permitted to wear regular shoes within the confines of the mellah. Exception to these restrictions was made—as was so often the case in many parts of the Muslim world throughout history—for Jews who had access to the royal court.³⁰

Morocco was not the only country to have specific customary restrictions on Jewish footwear. In neighboring Algeria, Jews in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were limited to black shoes, and black sandals were part of the *ghiyār* attire of the indigenous Tunisian Jews (*twansa*) till the middle of the nineteenth century.³¹

With the exception of the humiliating regulations on footwear and the limiting, by custom more than legislation, of Jewish outerwear to dark colors which seems to have prevailed throughout the Arab world, there does not seem to be any continuation of the *shikla* patch or badge in Morocco during these later centuries. The clothing of the Sephardi exiles was already quite distinct from indigenous Muslim attire. As already noted in Chapter Four, Sephardi (and also Andalusian Muslim) women wore the distinctive whirling skirt, called *jalfīṭa* (and also *falfīṭa*). Although Muslim authorities did not impose additional sumptuary laws upon Jewish clothing, Jewish authorities in fact did enact certain restrictive regulations regarding the attire of Jews, and more particularly Jewish women, in the public streets. Jewish communal ordinances (Heb. *taqqanōt*) of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries forbade women to go outdoors in glittering attire—that is, in clothing with gold and silver thread embroidery (Ar. *siqillī*)

²⁸ Samuel Romanelli, *Travail in an Arab Land*, trans. Yedida K. Stillman and Norman A. Stillman (University of Alabama Press: Tuscaloosa, 1989), p. 64.

²⁹ See Norman A. Stillman, “L’expérience juéo-marocaine: un point de vue révisioniste,” in *Judaïsme d’Afrique du Nord aux XIX^e-XX^e siècles: Histoire, société et culture*, ed. M. Abitbol (Institut Ben-Zvi: Jerusalem, 1980), p. 17; and *idem*, *The Jews of Arab Lands*, pp. 83 and 304.

³⁰ See Jane S. Gerber, *Jewish Society in Fez, 1450-1700: Studies in Communal and Economic Life* (Brill: Leiden, 1980), p. 138 and the sources cited there.

³¹ See Hirschberg, *A History of the Jews in North Africa II*, pp. 14 and 109 and the sources cited there.

or with their jewelry showing. The main purpose of these enactments was aimed at reducing Muslim enmity. Protecting Jewish men from having to satisfy what the rabbis considered unwarranted feminine extravagance was also sometimes cited as a reason.³²

Ghiyār in Early Modern Times: The Lingering Authority of Custom and the Impact of Increasing European Penetration

In other countries of the Arab world, too, where enforcement of the Pact of 'Umar and hierachal rules and rituals of differentiation and even abasement (Arabic, *dhull*) were strictly observed, patch badges had fallen out of use by early modern times. (In fact, Shi'ite Persia seems to be the only Muslim country still to impose occasionally a breast patch—red in this case—on Jews in some cities as late as the end of the nineteenth century.)³³ By both custom and internal legislative controls, non-Muslims maintained their own distinguishing styles. In Yemen, for example, where like Morocco, Jews were the only *dhimmīs*, a reiteration of the Pact from the early twentieth century has most of the usual stipulations, but makes no mention of differentiating clothing. This was due in part to the fact that Yemenite Jewish men wore the specifically Jewish ritual show fringes (*sīsiyyōt*) on the four corners of their mantles, such as the heavier *shamla* and lighter *mandīl* in accordance with the biblical injunction (Numbers 15:37-39ff).³⁴ Furthermore, in many parts of Yemen, Jews customarily wore blue-dyed outer garments. But perhaps even more importantly, the Yemenite Jewish male's distinctive sidelocks, called *pē'ōt* in most of the Jewish world but designated *sīmānīm* (literally, 'signs') in Yemen,

³² For examples of these ordinances, see Abraham Anqawa, *Kerem Hemer* II (Elijah Benamozegh: Livorno, 1871), Nos. 81, 92, 94, 149, 153, 161, 163, 165. These can also be found in *Taqqanōt Yehūdē Marōqō: Osef ha-Taqqanōt mi-Rēshīt ha-Mē'a ha-17 ve-'ad sōf ha-Mē'a ha-18*, with introduction by Shalom Bar-Asher (Zalman Shazar Center: Jerusalem, 1977).

³³ Alliance Israélite Universelle Iraq I.C.3, translated in David Littman, "Jews under Muslim Rule: The Case of Persia," *The Wiener Library Bulletin* 32, n.s. nos. 49/50 (1979), p. 7.

³⁴ Concerning these and other garments with ritual show fringes, see Erich Brauer, *Ethnologie der jemenitischen Juden* (Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung: Heidelberg, 1934), pp. 83-85, 88, 168, and 310.

served as a highly visible badge. As a Yemenite Muslim told the Lebanese journalist Ameen Rihani, who visited San'a in 1930, "The Jews must wear sidelocks, ya Ameen, that we may not kill them by mistake in times of war." These sidelocks which could be as long as 20 centimeters were considered to be such a distinguishing badge that in Yemenite Muslim Arabic they were referred to as *zanāñir* (sing., both *zunnār* and *zunnāra*), the original *ghiyār* belt for Christians in the earliest texts of the Pact of 'Umar.³⁵

With increasing European mercantile penetration into the Islamic lands of North Africa and the Middle East, and in particular with the growing opportunities to obtain foreign protection through the extraterritoriality accorded to European nations under the so-called Capitulations (Arabic, *imtiyāzāt*), *dhimmīs* with foreign ties either to consulates, factories, or merchant houses in their own countries or who had been to Europe for extended periods of time, began to seek to shed what both they and the Muslim society around them perceived to be the humiliating marks of *ghiyār* in their clothing. It was not that they wished necessarily to dress like Muslims. On the whole, they did not. At the very least they wished to remove marks of *dhull*, while still maintaining their indigenous styles. Not a few, however—and their numbers increased as European power and prestige mounted—wanted to be able to wear European (*rūmī* or *ifranjī*) attire. A romantic lover of native culture, such as the Englishman Budgett Meakin might decry the fact that Jews in early twentieth-century Morocco who had obtained foreign protection put aside their traditional attire "in favour of European ugliness" and that "younger ladies on the coast are so misguided as to reject their own becoming costumes to the extent that they do, in favour of hideous Parisian fashions not to be compared for beauty or grace with those worn by their mothers." But the *dhimmīs* themselves indulged in no such romanticism, and Meakin

³⁵ Ameen Rihani, *Arabian Peak and Desert: Travels in Al-Yaman* (Houghton Mifflin: Boston and New York, 1930), pp. 183-187, in Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times*, p. 299. Concerning the Yemenite Jewish male's *sīmānīm* (pronounced *sīmōnīm* in Yemenite Hebrew; ultimately derived from Greek *simeion*), see Brauer, *Ethnologie der jemenitischen Juden*, pp. 54, 79, 88, and 202. For *zunnār* as side-lock hanging down from the temple, see Moshe Piamenta, *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic I* (Brill: Leiden, 1990), p. 206.

himself was fully aware that the compulsory dark traditional garments were considered “an indignity.”³⁶

There was already the precedent of the *grana*, or Livornese Jews, in the Regency of Tunisia, and of the *francos*, or Jews with European nationality in the Levant, both of which groups, including their descendants, continued to wear European-style, and later somewhat modified European-style clothing within the Domain of Islam.³⁷

The process of being freed from *ghiyār* restrictions was definitely evolutionary, not revolutionary, and took place at different tempos in different Arab countries—and even within different regions in a particular country. In Morocco, for example, which lay on the Western frontier of the Arab world, was highly conservative, and was able to resist European interference and westernizing forces in its internal affairs for a longer time than the Ottoman Empire, the strict maintenance of the dress code for non-Muslims with its particularly humiliating Maghrebi innovations remained in force in the interior of the country into the twentieth century. In fact, even Jews of Moroccan extraction from Gibraltar who came into the Sharifan Empire on business and were technically *harbīs* (residents of the *Dār al-harb*, the Domain of War, with temporary permission to be in the Domain of Islam), had to wear the attire prescribed for *dhimmīs*. It was only in 1806, that the requirement was rescinded for the Gibraltarians by sultan Mawlāy Sulaymān in response to a petition submitted on their behalf by the British Consul General James Green.³⁸

Indigenous Moroccan Jews, however, still had to observe the dress code. More than half a century after Mawlāy Sulaymān granted permission for foreign Jews to wear European attire in his realm, indigenous Moroccan Jews were still subject to the traditional dress code. By this time, emancipated European Jews had begun lobbying

³⁶ See for example the testimony of Budgett Meakin, who lived for many years in Morocco and was a keen observer of life there, *The Moors: A Comprehensive Description* (Swan Sonnenheim: London; and Macmillan: New York, 1902), pp. 434-435.

³⁷ Concerning the *francos* who were actually called in Arabic *franjīs* (Europeans), see Alexander Lutzky, “The ‘Francos’ and the Effect of the Capitulations on the Jews in Aleppo,” *Zion* 6:1 (1940), pp. 46-79 [in Hebrew]; and Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands*, pp. 93 and 318.

³⁸ See Public Records Office (London) FO 174/10, published in N. A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands*, p. 367.

in favor of their coreligionists in Morocco. In 1864, the British philanthropist Sir Moses Montefiore was in Marrakesh petitioning Muḥammad IV to grant Tanzimat-style reforms in favor of Moroccan Jewry. Among the concessions that he hoped to obtain from the sultan was the abolition of the laws of *ghiyār*, which he referred to as “these humiliating marks of discrimination,” particularly, the requirement for Jews to walk barefoot through the streets of the imperial cities. Mawlāy Muḥammad did issue a generally worded edict on February 5, 1864, promising justice for his non-Muslim subjects and the abolition of corvée labor, but with no specific statement on the relaxation of the dress code.³⁹ Somber-colored clothing, black slippers (*bulgha*) when going shod at all rather than the yellow ones worn by Muslims, dark caps (*tāqiyā* or *tarbūsh*) and perhaps a blue headscarf (*sabaniyya*), remained the generally enforced mode of dress for Jews in Morocco, except in the coastal towns which had a strong European presence until the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1912.

³⁹ See Hirschberg, *A History of the Jews in North Africa*, vol. 2, p. 309, where Montefiore’s letter to his nephew mentions his hope to have the *ghiyār* requirement rescinded is quoted; and also N. A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands*, pp. 99-100 and 371-373, where the text of the Sharifan edict is translated.

CHAPTER SIX

THE OPULENT WORLD OF *TIRĀZ* AND PRECIOUS TEXTILES

It was briefly noted in Chapter Two that the production of special embroidered fabrics in palace textile factories began during the first caliphal dynasty and became a standard element of the Islamic vestimentary system. *Tirāz*, or embroidered, garments were in fact such a hallmark feature of medieval Islamic material haut bourgeois culture that they are almost invariably worn by the people depicted in medieval illuminated miniatures with the exception of slaves and laborers. Although the wearing of such luxury garments was by no means as ubiquitous as the illustrations of Arabic manuscripts would suggest, they express a fashion ideal much in the same way as modern magazines or Hollywood depict a mode that was to be aspired to. Because of this centrality of *tirāz* and other luxurious textiles in the Islamic vestimentary system, no history of Arab attire would be complete without some detailed discussion of the *tirāz* institution and the world of fine fabrics.

The Term Tirāz

The Arabic term *tirāz* is a Persian loanword (cf. Pers. *tarāz*, “adornment” or “embellishment” and *tirīz*, “gusset” or “gore”) originally meaning “embroidery” or “decorative work” (Arabic ‘alam) on a garment or piece of fabric.¹ It later came to mean a *khil'a*, or “robe of honor,” richly adorned with elaborate embroidery, especially in the form of

¹ Cf. the Persian verb *tarāzidān*. The root appears in the Talmud in a variant reading of Tractate Shabbat 98b in the form *tirīz* and is understood by Hay Gaon (died Baghdad, 1038) as being of Persian origin. See Samuel Krauss, ed., *Additamenta ad Librum Aruch Completum Alexandri Kohut* (Pardes: New York, 1955), p. 207a. The Arab lexicographers al-Layth and al-Azharī also believed the word to be arabized (*mu'arrab*) Persian. See al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs* IV, p. 48.

embroidered bands with writing upon them. These embroidered bands ran either along the border of the textile, sometimes arranged in two, or even more, strips around the upper part of the garment or were placed around the neck, around the sleeves, on the upper arm or wrists of a sleeved robe and even on the headdress. In medieval manuscript illuminations most people are depicted in garments with gold *tirāz* bands on the upper sleeves, sometimes with actual inscriptions as in the case of the atabeg Badr al-Dīn Lu'lū' 'Abd Allāh in Pl. 23. *Tirāz* patches frequently adorn men's turbans in these paintings, as in the case of Pls. 39 and 40. They were used not only as ornamental borders but were also put in the pattern of the material. Many, if not most *tirāz* bands contained pious formulas and blessings. But in addition to these formulaic inscriptions, the name of the place of manufacture and of the vizier or other official in charge of the treasury or of the *tirāz*-factory where the textile was produced could be found; more rarely the name of the artist who made the cloth might also be given.

In the earliest centuries of Islam, such a garment was worn by rulers and members of their entourage (*ashāb al-khilāf*). *Tirāz* (and *dār al-tirāz*) also came to designate the workshop in which such fabrics or robes were manufactured. A secondary development from the meaning "embroidered strip of writing" is that of "strip of writing", border or braid in general, applied not only to inscriptions woven, embroidered, or sewn-on materials, but also to any inscriptions on a band of any kind, whether hewn out of stone, done in mosaic, glass or faience, or carved in wood.² Until about the middle of the tenth/fourth century, when the production of papyrus ceased in Egypt, the word *tirāz* sometimes also designated the inscriptions officially stamped with ink upon the rolls of papyrus in the factories. This usage of *tirāz* was in turn extended to indicate the factories themselves.³

² See, for example, al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa 'l-Itibār bi-Dhikr al-Itibār Khīṭāt wa 'l-Athār*, II (Būlāq: Cairo, 1853), p. 79: "an inscription carved in stone (*al-tirāz al-mankūsh fi 'l-hidjāra*).

³ See J. von Karabaček, *Zur orientalischen Altertumskunde II: Die arabischen Papyrusprotokolle*, SBAW, CLXI:1, 1908, 8-10; and also A. Grohmann, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, I/ii, Vienna, 1923 (repr., 1995), nos. 175, 204, 214, 265, 270.

The Origins of the Ṭirāz Institution

The production of certain luxury textiles was an imperial privilege in both the Byzantine and Sasanian empires and had antecedents in the earlier Roman and Persian states. The Byzantine emperors established royal weaving ateliers, or *gynaecea* (literally, “women’s quarters”), in various places throughout their domains, including in Egypt, where there developed a distinctive Coptic style marked by embroidered decorative patches (either squares or roundels) and bands (*clavi*) that continued for nearly seven centuries into the Islamic era (see Pl. 51).⁴

Some scholars, such as Kühnel and Bellinger, have hypothesized that such establishments were probably taken over by the Umayyad caliphs, who were known to have had a *dār al-ṭirāz*, or *ṭirāz* factory, in Alexandria. The Umayyads, according to this view, adapted the production of such ateliers to their special needs and tastes.⁵ Ebersolt has proposed a connection between the *ṭirāz* bands of medieval Islamic dress and the Roman *clavus*—the sign of the senatorial and knightly rank—which is ultimately traced to an Etruscan origin. It is worth noting that, in Muslim fabrics also, the band of writing was often embroidered or woven in red silk. Perhaps the preference for this color is due to the fact that the *clavi* of the Romans were usually done in purple. The privilege of the *Princeps* to grant the *latus clavus* to the senators and the reservation of purple for the use of the ruler and, from 369, the limitation of the production of gold braid to the *gynaecea*, at least, afford parallels to the sovereign right of the Muslim Caliphs to the *ṭirāz* and its presentation.⁶

In contradistinction to the scholars who looked to Byzantium and Rome for the source of *ṭirāz* as object and institution, others, most notably Serjeant, following the testimony of many medieval Arab

⁴ See Alisa Baginski and Amalia Tidhar, *Textiles from Egypt, 4th-13th centuries C.E.* (L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art: Jerusalem, 1980). Concerning the institution of the *gynaeceum*, see Robert S. Lopez, “Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire,” *Speculum* 20 (January 1945), pp. 1-42; J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (E. Leroux: Paris, 1923), pp. 12-13; A. Marzouk, *History of Textile Industry in Alexandria 331 B.C.-1517 A.D.* (University Press: Alexandria, 1955), pp. 46-53.

⁵ See al-Qalqashandī, *Šubḥ al-Āshā*, IV (al-Maṭba'a al-Amīriyya: Cairo, 1913-19), p. 7; and Ernst Kühnel and Louise Bellinger, *Catalogue of Dated Tiraz Fabrics* (The Textile Museum: Washington, 1952), p. 1.

⁶ Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance*, pp. 12-13.

historians, were of the belief that the *tirāz* system had its origin in Sasanian Persia and that during the Umayyad period it expanded westward to Egypt, North Africa, and Spain.⁷ Ibn Khaldūn, for example, states outright that “the pre-Islamic Persian kings (*mulūk al-‘ajam*) used to make that *tirāz* with the images and likenesses of monarchs or other images and likenesses specifically designated for that use, and later the Islamic monarchs substituted for that the inscribing of their names together with other words of good omen or praises of God.” Ibn Khaldūn’s remarks concerning garments with royal insignia in Sasanian times is corroborated by the much earlier testimony of the Talmud where it is mentioned that the robes of scholars associated with the house of the exilarch, the putative descendants of the Davidic kings and representatives of the Jews before the ruling authorities, bore some sort of badge with his seal. This prompted S. D. Goitein to suggest that the custom was probably borrowed by the exilarchs from the Sasanian court at which they served.⁸

The truth concerning the origins of the *tirāz* system, it would seem, combines both views. The institution of royal ateliers was so widespread throughout the ancient and early medieval Near East that its adoption by the Muslims, who were decidedly eclectic, need not be attributed to a single source. The name of the system is clearly Persian, but on the other hand, it is an established fact that the Umayyads, based as they were in the former Byzantine province of Syria, were at first far more under the influence of Eastern Roman rather than of Persian culture, as the Dome of the Rock, the great mosque of Damascus, and the numerous desert chateaux in Syria, Palestine, and Trans-Jordan bear ample witness. Although as noted in Chapter Two above, even in these caliphal retreats, Persian styles appear as well as Hellenistic ones.

⁷ R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles: Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest*, Librairie du Liban: Beirut, 1972), p. 9.

⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *Mugaddima* (Qāsim Muhammad al-Rajab: Baghdad, n.d., repr. Beirut, 1900), pp. 266-67; BT *Shabbat* 58a; S. D. Goitein, “Petitions to Fatimid Caliphs from the Cairo Geniza,” *JQR*, n.s., 45 (1954-5), pp. 34-35.

The Early Development of the Tirāz Institution under the Umayyads

The earliest regular production of Arabic-inscribed *tirāz* probably goes back to the time of the reforms of 'Abd al-Malik when not only did Arabic become the official chancery language, but was henceforth inscribed on all coins and was used for the stamp (*tirāz*) on papyrus. Although the earliest Muslim historians, such as al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī, mention only the coinage and papyrus, al-Bayhaqī claims that the reforms included inscriptions on garments (*thiyāb*) and tapestries (*sutūr*).⁹ The first Umayyad caliph who is specifically mentioned in the Arabic sources as having had *tirāz* factories was 'Abd al-Malik's son and fourth successor, Hishām, who was known as a fashionplate and a great lover of fine robes, textiles, and carpets. He is also said to have worn silk garments with what may have been embroidered bands (*al-khazz al-raqm*), but the term is somewhat ambiguous and could also merely indicate striping.¹⁰ As already noted in Chapter Two above, Hishām's successor, al-Walīd II is reported to have worn "caliphal garments" (*thiyāb al-khilāfa*). This term was later synonymous with *tirāz* robes, although it is not clear whether al-Walīd's royal garments actually had the embroidered bands on them or were simply designated caliphal because they were white, the Umayyad official color. As in so many areas of culture, material as well as intellectual, Arabic terminology was extremely fluid during the evolutionary early centuries of Islam.

One of the oldest surviving *tirāz* fabrics, which has a red silk ground with designs in several colors and an inscription in yellow silk, exists in three pieces, all discovered in Egypt, and bears the name of the Caliph Marwān. The question is which Marwān—Marwān I (684-5/64-5) or Marwān II (744-750/127-132)? Most scholars prefer the latter on historical grounds since one piece bears the inscription "in the *tirāz* factory of Ifrīqiya," and it seems unlikely that the Maghrebi

⁹ al-Bayhaqī, *Kitāb al-Mahāsub wa 'l-Masāwī*, ed. F. Schwally (Ricker: Giessen, 1902), p. 498.

¹⁰ al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb*, ed. M. Al-Saqqā', I. Al-Abyarī, and A. H. Shalibi (Matba'at Muṣṭafa al-Bābī al-Halabī: Cairo, 1938), p. 60; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murij al-Dhahab wa-Ma'ādin al-Jawhar*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and A. Pavet de Courteille V (Imprimerie Impériale: Paris, 1861-1877), p. 466; also Ibn 'Abd Rabih, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, II (Cairo, 1913/1331), p. 338.

province was secure enough in the earlier reign to have such an establishment.¹¹ Day, on the other hand, has pointed out that from a stylistic point of view, the inscriptions look more like seventh/first century, rather than eighth/second century.¹² Another very early *tirāz* fragment of wool tapestry has a partial inscription “[commander of the] faithful Ma[rwān]” that also appears to come from the reign of Marwān. Its Sasanian ground design of cocks on pedestals enclosed in roundels again point stylistically to the time of Marwān I (684-85/65 A.H. But again, most scholars favor attributing the piece to Marwān II (744-750/127-132) on the grounds that the reign of the former was too brief (between six and ten months) to make any attribution to him likely. In any event, it seems clear that by late Umayyad times, the *tirāz* system extended across the length and breadth of the caliphate.

There is one dated *tirāz* fragment from the Umayyad period, an Egyptian linen turban cloth with an inscription giving the date of manufacture, Rajab 88 (June 707), and the name of the person for whom it was produced, one Samuel b. Mūsā.¹³ This was probably a privately commissioned piece made for a wealthy Jew or Christian. It mentions neither the caliph, nor the factory, and was not therefore, an official *tirāz* cloth. In later periods, particularly under the Fatimids as we know from the evidence of the Cairo Geniza documents, private *tirāz* production for the bourgeoisie became increasingly common.

Full-Scale Development of the Tirāz Institution under the 'Abbasids

The *tirāz* system continued to flourish in the Muslim East under the 'Abbasids. Hārūn al-Rashīd is reported to have entrusted the *tirāz* operations (*dūr al-turuz*) to his famous vizier Ja'far al-Barmakī.¹⁴ Con-

¹¹ R. Guest and A. F. Kendrick, “The Earliest Dated Islamic Textiles,” *Burlington Magazine*, 40 (1932), pp. 185-186; and Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, p. 13.

¹² See Florence E. Day, “The Tirāz Silk of Marwān,” in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, ed. G. C. Miles (J. J. Augustin: New York, 1952), *passim*, but especially pp. 52-61.

¹³ M. A. A. Marzouk, “The Turban of Samuel ibn Musa, the Earliest Dated Islamic Textile,” in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University* 16 (1954), pp. 143-51.

¹⁴ al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, p. 249.

trol of the *tirāz* factories was considered one of the most important of administrative responsibilities in the government, along with oversight of the mints, the post, and the bureaux of taxation, and only individuals of high rank and the most trusted individuals among their freedmen were given this office. Al-Rashīd made regular presents of *tirāz* garments and fabrics to his favorites. His Christian physician Bukhtīshū' b. Jurjīs received every Muḥarram an allotment of garments, furs and textiles that included twenty garment-sized pieces (*shiqqa*) of royal *tirāz* linen shot with gold or silver thread (*al-qasab al-khāṣ al-tirāzī*) and a like number of pieces of *mulham tirāzī* (a combination fabric of silk warp and woof of another material with embroidered bands).¹⁵ Supervision of the *tirāz* factories was so important to the caliph because it was considered one of his royal perogatives to have his name on the textiles produced in them, just as it was to have his name on the *sikka*, or legend, of the coinage and in the *khuṭba*, or Friday sermon in the mosque. Omission of the ruler's name from any or all of these was tantamount to rebellion. For example, al-Ma'mūn dropped his brother al-Amīn's name from the *sikka* and the *tirāz* when he began his rebellion in 809-10/194), and Ibn Tūlūn dropped the regent al-Muwaffaq's name from the *tirāz* and the *khuṭba* in 882-3/269, when he broke relations with Baghdad.¹⁶ This latter act was of particularly far-reaching consequences since the annual caliphal gift of an inscribed covering (*kiswa*) to the Ka'ba was produced in the *tirāz* factories of Egypt, and the absence of the regent's name would be seen by pilgrims from all around the *Dār al-Islām*. R. B. Serjeant has suggested that it was perhaps at this very time that the Ka'ba covering began to be produced in the East, although it is only three generations later that Tustar (Shustar) in Persia is first mentioned as the place where the *kiswa* was produced.¹⁷

Despite the political importance of caliphal inscriptions on the Ka'ba coverings, it is by no means clear that such inscriptions fea-

¹⁵ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Tabaqāt al-Atībā' I, ed. Müller (Selbstverlag: Königsberg, 1884), p. 136.

¹⁶ Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Abu'l-Mahasin ibn Tagrī Birdī Annales* I, ed. T. W. J. Juynboll and B. J. Matthes (E. J. Brill: Leiden 1852-1861), pp. 551-552; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kitāb al-Kāmil fī Ta'rikh* VII (Būlāq Press: Cairo, 1290), p. 143.

¹⁷ Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, pp. 20 and 42; al-İṣṭakhrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik*, ed. M. de Goeje, (Brill: Leiden, 1870), p. 92.

tured prominently on the robes of honor (*khila'*) distributed by the caliph during the first century of the 'Abbasid period. Bierman has pointed to the universal silence of the numerous texts describing the bestowal of robes of honor at this time. This silence stands in marked contrast to the later Fatimid period, when such descriptions frequently include details on the political inscriptions embroidered on *khila'*.¹⁸ On the other hand, the literary sources do mention that, starting with the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, when the Persian secretarial class were the trend setters in all matters of high culture and good taste with their polite educational ideal of *adab*, it became the fashion to have verses of poetry embroidered onto the robes of honor. The poet Abu 'l-'Atāhiya presented al-Rashīd on the occasion of the Nawrūz, or Persian New Year's festival, with a perfumed *thawb* with verses embroidered on its borders.¹⁹ The *adīb* al-Washshā', whose guide for people of good taste and high culture has already been discussed at some length in Chapter Two above, devotes one section of his book to "What [verses] may be found [inscribed] on shirt tails (*dhuyūl al-aqmīṣa wa 'l-a'lām*) and is embroidered on cloaks and sleeves (*wa-ṭarz al-ardiyā wa 'l-akmām*)," another to the verses on headdresses and head bands (*karāzin wa-'aṣā'ib*) and a third to the verses on belts, pantaloons drawstrings, and scarves (*zanānīr, tikak, wa-manādīl*).²⁰

Clearly, by the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd's caliphate, the production and bestowal of *tirāz* fabrics and garments were an integral part of royal protocol, an accepted prerogative of the ruler, and medium for demonstrating and extending the prestige of the dynasty and the court to favored individuals. The presentation of *tirāz* robes of honor (*khila'*) and even pieces of fabric (*shiqaq*) to court favorites was itself an occasion for poetical compositions and was noted by Arab historians. The sociopolitical importance of *tirāz* and its courtly connection were described by Ibn Khaldūn as follows:

It is part of royal and governmental pomp and dynastic custom to have the names of rulers or their peculiar marks [*alāmāt*] put on [*tursam*] the

¹⁸ Irene Bierman, "Art and Politics: The Impact of Fatimid Uses of Tirāz Fabrics," (Ph. D. diss., University of Chicago, 1980), pp. 20-21.

¹⁹ Ibn Khallikān, *Kitāb Wafqāt al-Ā'yān*, I, ed. M. de Slane (Didot Frères: Paris, 1842), p. 203.

²⁰ al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā aw al-Ẓarf wa 'l-Ẓurafā'* (Maṭba'at al-I'timād: Cairo, 1362/1953), chaps. 42-44, pp. 219-230.

silk . . . The writing is brought out by weaving a gold thread or some other colored thread of a color different from that of the fabric itself into it. [Its execution] depends upon the skill of the weavers in designing and weaving it. Royal fabrics are embellished with such a *tirāz*, in order to increase the prestige of . . . those whom the ruler distinguishes by bestowing on them his own garment when he wants to honor them or appoint them to one of the offices of the dynasty.²¹

The Tirāz Institution under the Fatimids

The Fatimids had adopted the use of inscribed textiles already at the time of the establishment of their counter-Caliphate in North Africa in the early tenth/fourth century, and it is clear that they brought a number of these *tirāz* fabrics produced in Ifrīqiya with them when they transferred their administrative center to Egypt (973/362), as is attested by the presence of *tirāz* fabrics dating from the dynasty's North African period in a Fatimid funerary site in Fustat.²²

The Fatimid use of *tirāz* may well have had a religious significance in addition to the sociopolitical importance already attached to the production and distribution of such textile and garments in the Umayyad and 'Abbasid caliphates. In Ismā'īlī Shi'ite theology, the Fatimid caliphs were more than commanders of the faithful, the Prophet's relatives, and his vicars on earth. They were nothing less than infallible (*ma'sūm*) imāms, direct descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and charismatic bearers of the divine light (*nūr ilāhi*). They were considered by their followers to exude this charisma and transmit its blessing (*baraka*) by their very touch. In the North African period, the eunuch Jawdhar had asked for a garment (*thawb*) of the caliph's to use as a funeral shroud because of its *baraka*,²³ although there is no indication that the

²¹ Franz Rosenthal, tr. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* (Pantheon Books: New York, 1958), pp. 65-66.

²² For examples, see R.-P. Gayraud et al., "Istabl 'Antar (Fostat) 1994: Rapport de Fouilles, *AI* 24 (1995).

²³ Abū 'Alī Manṣūr al-Judharī, *Sīrat al-Ustādh Jūdhar [Jawdhar]*, ed. M. K. Husayn and M. 'A. Shu'ayra (Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī: Cairo, 1954), p. 138. The concept of *baraka* as a power or force that can be transmitted by a charismatic individual is widespread in Maghrebi popular culture to this day. For a detailed anthropological survey of the phenomenon, see Edward Alexander Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (repr. University Books: New Hyde Park, 1968), pp. 35-261.

textile in question was inscribed. However, large numbers of inscribed shrouds have been excavated in Egypt, which has led to the suggestion that there was an intentional use of *tirāz* for funerary garments.²⁴

The evidence (which is admittedly meager) suggests that the mass-production of textiles inscribed with the caliph's name and given as a robe of honor (*khil'a*) may have developed as the demand for such robes and textiles increased and the caliph abandoned the practice of giving a piece of his own clothing in favor of bestowing a garment that had been produced in the *tirāz* factories. Though not necessarily touched by the infallible imam himself, they were produced with his imprimatur so-to-speak and came to be considered by extension as bearing his charismatic blessedness as well. Still, the actual touch of the charismatic Fatimid caliph was considered even more blessed as may be seen from a report about a man during the reign of al-Zāhir (1021-1036/411-427), who aspired to both a larger land grant (*iqṭā'*) and greater prestige. The social climber requested not only a robe and a skullcap from the caliph, and not only garments that were the caliph's own (*thiyāb min thiyyābihi...wa-shāhiyya min shawāshīhi*), but that they should actually have been worn by him (*thiyāb min thiyyāb mawlānā . . . allatī yalbisuhā*).²⁵

In the very earliest days of Fatimid rule, the caliph-imam donned a magnificent robe, which he then ritually took off (this is the actual meaning of the verb *khala'a*, whence the term *khil'a* is derived) and put on the individual to be honored with his own hand. The dramatic scene is described as follows:

We saw the Mahdī [the founder of the Fatimid dynasty] sitting in the middle of the tent on his throne, resplendent like the sun with beauty and gracefulness. Weeping, we threw ourselves down before him, while he laughed and humbly praised God, may his name be blessed, thanked him and exalted him. Then he said to Sandal: "Give me the two splendid garments which I have been keeping especially in such-and-such a trunk." He brought them, and the Mahdī donned one of them,

²⁴ Jochen A. Sokoly, "Between Life and Death: The Funerary Context of *Tirāz* Textiles," in *Islamische Textilkunst des Mittelalters: Aktuelle Probleme*, (Die Abegg Stiftung: Riggisberg, 1997), pp. 71-78.

²⁵ al-Musabbīḥī, *al-Juz' al-Ārba'ūn min Akhbār Miṣr* I [Tome quarantième de la Chronique d'Égypte de Musabbīḥī: 1 Partie historique], ed. A. F. Sayyid and Thierry Bianquis, (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale: Cairo, 1978), p. 58.

and the Qā'im [the Mahdī's son and successor] the other. Then he said, "And now the clothing and swords, which I have been keeping for these here!" Then, after he had first clothed Abū 'Abdallāh with his own hand, wound a turban around his head and girded him with a sword, he also clothed me, and that indeed with a garment under which there was yet another, made of Dabīqī linen, and with turban, trousers and slippers, and he girded me with a sword. He clothed and girded Ṭayyib as he had done for me, and also Muslim, Ṣandal, and Abū Ya'qūb. He had prepared all this in advance, before we departed from Salamya.²⁶

The flourishing of the *tirāz* industry under the Fatimids is attested to both by the large number of surviving inscribed textiles (see Pl. 52) and by the literary and documentary record. The chronicles and administrative histories which survive establish that *tirāz* production was an integral part of the Fatimid bureaucracy. There is little information on the structure of the *tirāz* administration for the earlier Fatimid period, but for the later period we have not only the accounts of Ibn Mammātī (d. 1209/606) and al-Makhzūmī (d. 1189/585), but also the excerpts of Ibn al-Ṭuwayr (d. 1220/617) preserved by al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418/821) and al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442/845).

The head of the *tirāz* institution was a high-ranking court official, the only one to receive his *khilāf* in a private ceremony according to Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, who devotes a section in his chapter on the Fatimid governmental bureaux to the *tirāz*.²⁷

The sums spent by the regime in *tirāz* production were apparently quite large, though the sparse information in the chronicles makes systematic tracking of these expenditures impossible. Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī (d. 1192/588) reports that the expenditures for costumes (including gold thread) in the year 516/1122 were nearly 20,000 dinars, and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr put the amount spent on costumes for various court occasions at 10,000 dinars a year.²⁸

²⁶ Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Yamanī, *Sīrat al-Ḥājib Ja'far b. 'Alī*, cited in Heinz Halm, *The Empire of the Mahdi: The Rise of the Fatimids*, trans. Michael Bonner (Brill: Leiden, 1996), p. 138. I owe this reference to my colleague Professor Paula Sanders.

²⁷ Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, *Nuzhat al-Muqlatayn fi Akhbār al-Dawlatayn*, ed. A. F. Sayyid (Franz Steiner: Stuttgart, 1992), pp. 101-104.

²⁸ Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. A. F. Sayyid (Al-Ma'had al-'Ilmī al-Faransi lil Athār al-Sharqiyah: Cairo, 1983), pp. 48ff; Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, *Nuzhat al-Muqlatayn*, pp. 75, 104.

The management of the bureau of *tirāz* was closely related to that of the mint (*dār al-darb*) for two reasons. First, *tirāz* production involved the same prerogative of inscribing the caliph's name as did minting. Indeed, the inscription of textiles is specifically mentioned alongside the minting and inscription of coins (*sikka*) among the prerogatives that the vizier al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī restored to the caliph al-Āmir (1101-1130/495-525) after the fall of the dictator al-Afdal b. Amīr al-Juyūsh in 1121/515. Second, the *tirāz* factories used large quantities of gold, which was spun into thread under the careful supervision of the mint. Special security was required for the bullion used as metal thread. The close association of the mint and office of *tirāz* is clear from the administrative histories of Ibn Mammātī and al-Makhzūmī, both of whom describe the mint and the bureau of *tirāz* sequentially in their works. The production of gold thread is specifically mentioned under the discussion of each institution.²⁹ The elaborate inventory preserved in Ibn al-Ma'mūn records not only the amount of gold in each garment, but also the labor charges for spinning the gold thread. The cost of labor alone came to one eighth dinar per *mithqal* (approximately 4.2 grams) of gold. The *tirāz* gold thread on a single military robe could cost 500 gold dinars, and in 1122 over 14,000 robes were needed at just one court ceremony.³⁰

Abundant material from the Cairo Geniza (particularly business letters, marriage contracts, and trousseaux) documents the vitality of the textile industry that was the cornerstone of the Egyptian economy.³¹ Fatimid Egypt had five major *tirāz* centers: Alexandria, Tinnis,

²⁹ Ibn Mammātī, *Kitāb Qawānīn al-Dawāwīn*, ed. A. S. Atiya (Maktabat Madbūlī: Cairo, 1991), pp. 330-333; al-Makhzūmī, *al-Muntaqā min Kitāb al-Minhāj fi 'Ilm Kharāj Miṣr*, ed. Claude Cahen and Y. Raghib (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale: Cairo, 1986), pp. 30-33.

³⁰ Ibn al-Ma'mūn's report is preserved in al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa 'l-Tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭāṭ wa 'l-Athār* I (Būlāq Press: Cairo, 1853), p. 410. For a very good survey of the traditional gold thread industry as it was still practiced in the early twentieth century in Morocco, see M. Vicaire and R. Le Tourneau, "La fabrication du fil d'or à Fès," *Hespéris* 24 (1937), pp. 67-88.

³¹ S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* I (University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), pp. 101-108; Gladys Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration of Egypt from the Arabs to the Ottomans* (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale: Cairo, 1986); *eadem*, "Textiles in the Economy of Medieval Egypt," *JESHO* 23 (1980).

Damietta, Dabiq, and the Fayyūm. These were not just centers of *tirāz*, but also more generally of textile production. The overwhelming majority of surviving *tirāz* fabrics with dated or datable Kufic inscriptions are in fact from Egypt, and nearly all are fine linen or other light-weight fabrics. Egypt was especially famous during the Fatimid period for its flax cultivation and finished linen textiles. (It also exported large quantities of raw flax for weaving in Sicily and Ifrīqiya.)³² No less than twenty-two different varieties of linen, mostly named after localities, rulers, or type, have been identified in the Geniza documents.³³

The *tirāz* institution under the Fatimids was not merely a court institution but was integrally connected to the economy as a whole. This is particularly true in view of the fact that fine clothing was a valuable commodity in the medieval Mediterranean economy and high quality textiles, even after having been worn, had considerable cash value. Textiles of various kinds often constituted a major portion of bridal trousseaux. *Tirāz* textiles were classified as either *khāṣṣa* (produced exclusively for the court) or *‘āmma* (available for purchase by the public). The sale of *tirāz* textiles to the public was a significant source of revenue for the Fatimid caliphs. In the late tenth/fourth century, the largest *tirāz* factories apparently provided an income of more than 200,000 dinars each day—a prodigious sum. Income from the *tirāz* for the later Fatimid period is not reported, but must have been considerable given the dramatic increase in *tirāz* production at court and the penchant of the bourgeoisie, already discussed in Chapter Three above, for imitation of fashions and mores of the ruling class.

The wealthier classes imitated the court by wearing garments with inscribed bands just as they addressed each other respectfully by their *kunyas* or used the honorific titles that had become commonplace by the eleventh century. In a twelfth-century Geniza document, the Jewish India trader Abraham b. Joseph b. Abraham b. Bundār b. Hasan ordered a *tirāz* turban of *dabīqī* linen with his son’s name embroidered

³² See for example, Norman A. Stillman, “The Eleventh Century Merchant House of Ibn ‘Awkal: A Geniza Study,” *JESHO* 16 (1973), pp. 28-37.

³³ Goitein, *Mediterranean Society* I, pp. 104-105; Yedida K. Stillman, “Female Attire of Medieval Egypt: According to the Trousseau Lists and Cognate Material from the Cairo Geniza,” (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1972), *passim*.

on it as a gift for the latter.³⁴ In another Geniza document, a contract of betrothal from around the year 1100, a groom promised to give his bride a *khil'a* immediately after the wedding.³⁵ The fashion of haut bourgeois imitation of the court resulted ultimately in the production of fake *tirāz* with pseudo-inscriptions, i.e., of textiles with decorative bands that merely create the appearance of an inscription.³⁶

The *tirāz* institution by the late twelfth century, then, had developed far beyond its original political uses at court into a widespread social and economic phenomenon. This is confirmed by the oft-quoted passage in Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Dimashqī's *Guide to the Beauties of Commerce* (later twelfth century), in the section devoted to the two fine linens, *dabiqī* and *sharb*, which often formed the ground fabric for *tirāz*:

People's tastes vary in regard to the *tirāz* borders and the ornamented embroideries, but they are agreed in the preference of that which is of the finest thread, and closest of weave, of the purest white, of the best workmanship, red, and golden; and where *dabiqī* is concerned, whatever is beautiful even if raw; but when it is compressed it is not esteemed.³⁷

Tirāz and Robes of Honor under Ayyubids and Mamluks

Although the Turkish military dynasties that succeeded the Fatimids employed a wide variety of uniforms, marks of rank, and heraldry, and although the ceremonial presentation of garments became so common that "to be invested with a *khil'a*" or "to put on a *khil'a*" simply came to mean that someone was appointed to a post, under their rule the *tirāz* institution itself declined, although to state that "it was no longer functioning," as did Kühnel and Day, is somewhat of an overstatement. The inscribed formulaic bands became less ubiquitous than previously (but then inscriptions on woven textiles appear to have declined in importance throughout much of the Islamic world

³⁴ Westminster College Cambridge Cair. Misc. f. 9, ll. 19-20.

³⁵ TS 8 J 9, f. 9: *wa-an yadfa' lahā 'ind al-dukhl khil'a*.

³⁶ Veronica Gervers, "Rags to Riches" in *Rotunda* 11 (1978-9), p. 28.

³⁷ al-Dimashqī, *Kitāb al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tijāra* (Maṭba'at al-Mu'ayyad: Cairo, 1900/1318), translated in Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, p. 140.

from the thirteenth/seventh century on), and finely embroidered garments and textiles came to be produced more and more by private entrepreneurs, for whom the regime was a primary customer.³⁸ As Ibn Khaldūn explains, *tirāz* was still “very much cultivated” in the Mamluk Empire as befitting such an important and civilized realm. However, *tirāz* was not manufactured “within houses and palaces of the dynasty,” nor was there a state official in charge of production. Rather, whatever the state required was “woven by craftsmen familiar with the craft, from silk and pure gold.” The gold embroidery during this period was called *zarqash* or *muzarkash*, which like the term *tirāz*, itself is a Persian loanword.³⁹ There was even a special bazaar in Mamluk Cairo known as the Sūq al-Khilā’iyīn (the Market of the *Khilā’i* Merchants). It was one of the most bustling markets in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Cairo because it sold so much clothing, mainly tailored garments, to the dynasty and to others as well.⁴⁰ Some state-run ateliers do seem to have still existed at least into the early Mamluk period in Alexandria, Cairo, and Damascus, where among other things, the robe of honor known as *tardwahsh* (literally, “wild animal chase”) which had embroidered hunting scenes on them, were produced.⁴¹

The *tardwahsh* was a *qabā’* (as noted in Chapter Three, various coats were the hallmark of Central Asian military élites of this period) decorated with a number of linen bands (*jākhāt*) in varying colors mixed with gold-spangled linen (this gilded mixture was known as *qaṣab*). Between these bands was the embroidery which also contained gold. Like modern military uniforms, the *tardwahsh* could be upgraded when the wearer rose in rank. Instead of adding brass or stripes as in today’s military, a fine gold brocade *tirāz* band was appliquéd

³⁸ Ernst Kühnel, “Zur Tiraz-Epigraphik der Abbasiden und Fatimiden,” *Festschrift Max Freiherren von Oppenheim zum 70. Geburtstage*, ed. Ernst F. Weidner (E. F. Weidner: Berlin, 1933), pp. 59-60; Florence E. Day, “Dated Tiraz in the Collection of the University of Michigan,” *Ars Islamica* 4 (1937), p. 420; L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume: A Survey* (Albert Kundig: Geneva, 1952), p. 33. Concerning the overall decline in inscribed textiles, see Sheila S. Blair, “Inscriptions on Medieval Islamic Textiles,” in *Islamische Textilkunst des Mittelalters: Aktuelle Probleme* (Die Abegg Stiftung: Riggisberg, 1996), p. 103.

³⁹ Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, p. 267; Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah*, vol. II, p. 67.

⁴⁰ al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ* II, p. 104.

⁴¹ al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ* II, p. 227.

on and fur trimming, usually squirrel (*sinjāb*) and beaver (*qundus*) was also added. The *tardwahsh* was the robe of honor for the lesser amirs of a hundred.⁴²

The robe of honor for lower officers just below the rank of the wearers of the *tardwahsh* was the *khil'a kamkhā*. It too was a *qabā'* and was made of a Chinese silk stuff, whence its name, which by Mamluk times was also produced in the Islamic world. The robe was mono-colored, but had as its decoration an appliquéd embroidered figure (*naqsh*) of the same material which was usually of a different color. Even when the appliqué was of the same sort of hue as the background field, there was some noticeable difference (*tafāwut baynahumā*). The *khil'a kamkhā* was hemmed with beaver-trimmed squirrel. The uniforms of the troops themselves were also made of *kamkhā*.⁴³

The highest ranking amirs of a hundred wore a multilayered *khil'a*. The outercoat, or *fawqānī*, was of Byzantine red satin (*al-ātlas al-ahmar al-rūmī*) embroidered with gold (*taraz zarkash dhahab*) and had a squirrel fur lining. It also had what was perhaps a beaver overcape or a train (*sajaf min zāhirī ma'a al-ghishā' qundus*). Beneath the *fawqānī* was another coat of yellow Byzantine satin. The ensemble was topped off with a gold-embroidered *kalawta* with gold clasps (*kalālib*), a fine turban shawl, or *shāsh*, of Indian red silk (*lānas*)⁴⁴ with white silk attached

⁴² For a detailed description of the *tardwahsh*, see al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭat* II, p. 227; partially trans. in Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, p. 150; see also Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 59.

⁴³ For a survey of the principal sources on *kamkhā*, which may be the same as the fabric *kamkhān*, see Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, index, s.v. The fourteenth/eighth-century traveler Ibn Battūṭa mentions *kamkhā* as silk produced in Baghdad, Tabriz, and Nishapur. See Ibn Battūṭa, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and trans. C. Defrémy and B. R. Sanguinetti (Imprimerie Nationale: Paris, 1914), p. 311. In their French translation, Defrémy and Sanguinetti identify the fabric as *velours*, without explanation or apparent justification.

⁴⁴ For the identification of *lānas* or *lēnas* as a red Indian silk, see Goitein, *Mediterranean Society* I, p. 454, n. 53; and Stillman, *Female Attire of Medieval Egypt*, pp. 22, 68, 69, 84, and 173. Serjeant, Mayer, and Ashtor, all following Dozy, take it to be muslin from the one or two single references to the Mamluk *shāsh lānas* (and the word *shāsh* itself can indicate muslin in addition to a scarf). See Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, p. 217; Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 58; Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval* (S.E.V.P.E.N.: Paris, 1969), pp. 151-152 (Ashtor also confuses it with *lālas*, which was a Sicilian silk textile.); R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* II (Brill: Leiden, 1967), p. 551b.

to the two ends on which are embroidered the sultan's titles together with brilliant designs of colored silk. Their uniform also had the gold military belt, or *mintaqā*, which varied according to the rank of the wearer (see Chapter Three for a description of the different grade belts).⁴⁵

The finest *khil'a* that was bestowed upon civil servants, the so-called *arbāb al-aglām* (Men of the Pen) who included viziers and secretaries alike, was a white *kamkhā* robe with plain silk embroidery (*al-muṭarraz bi-raqm ḥarīr sādhij*) with squirrel and beaver lining and trim. Under the outer robe was another of green *kamkhā*. The *khil'a* of lower-ranking bureaucrats lacked the lining, but still had beaver trim on the cuffs of the sleeves and along the front slit.⁴⁶

The '*ulamā'* generally did not wear *khila'* with *tirāz* bands or silks and satins unless they were also civil servants. The preacher, for example, in an illuminated manuscript of al-Harīrī's *Maqāmāt* that was probably done in Syria, around the year 1300, is depicted in a simple black robe with a white *tarha* covering his turbaned head and falling over his shoulders and back. Whereas the three congregants are all shown dressed in colored robes with gold *tirāz* bands.⁴⁷

Just as the *tirāz* institution declined, so the Egyptian textile industry (and indeed the economy in general) declined during the Mamluk period, so too did the quality of honorific robes. By the beginning of the sixteenth/tenth century, the next-to-last sultan, Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī, was distributing *khila'* of colored cotton valued at a paltry three dinars (and by this time, these were highly debased dinars at that!) during the 'Id al-Fitr.⁴⁸

The custom of presenting honorific robes made of precious fabric continued throughout the Muslim world until modern times. But the

⁴⁵ al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ II*, p. 227; also Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 58. For an example of a woolen scalloped roundel with the title of sultan in mirror image, see *Tissus d'Egypte témoins du monde arabe VIII^e–XV^e siècles: Collection Bouvier* (Musée d'art et d'histoire: Institut du Monde Arabe: Paris, 1993), p. 299, no. 194.

⁴⁶ al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ II*, p. 228; Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, pp. 60-61 interprets this passage in al-Maqrīzī slightly differently.

⁴⁷ British Museum, London, Add. 22.114, folio, 94 *recto*, in Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Skira: Lausanne, 1962), p. 164.

⁴⁸ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Ẓuhūr fī waqā'ī al-Duhūr IV*, ed. P. Kahle and M. Mostafa (Matba'at al-Dawlah: Istanbul, 1931), pp. 104 and 247; also Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 63.

great courts which were the primary locus for their distribution were outside the Arab world in Istanbul, Tabriz (and later Teheran). The modes were Turkish and Persian. The textiles and their decoration were sumptuous and including metallic and silk brocades of many sorts. But the *tirāz* bands that had been the the most distinctive hallmark of *khila'* under the great caliphates and the Turkish military regimes that ruled the Arab world throughout most of the Middle Ages were no longer the fashion.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ For beautiful examples of Ottoman, Safavid, and Qajar luxury garments and fabrics, see Patricia Lesley Baker, *Islamic Textiles* (British Museum Press: London, 1995), illustrations, pp. 85-142. Not all of the garments illustrated there were necessarily presented as honorifics.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VEILING IN THE ISLAMIC VESTIMENTARY SYSTEM

In the European Christian West, no aspect of the Islamic vestimentary system was more noteworthy, especially in early modern and modern times, than the ubiquity of women's veiling, except perhaps for the wearing of turbans by men. Thus for example, by the seventeenth century, "to take up the turban" was idiomatic in English for "embracing Islam," and Muslims themselves regarded the turban as a "badge of Islam" (*sūmā al-Islām*) and a "divider between unbelief and belief" (*hājiza bayn al-kufr wa 'l-īmān*).¹ Of course, veils of many different sorts existed for women in Europe, as did turban-like headdresses for both men and women in certain periods, but they never had either the universality or the manifest essentiality that they did in the Islamic world. In fact, "to take the veil" in the European context since medieval times meant "to become a nun" or "to enter a convent."² Since this once common form of female seclusion became much less common and in general was no longer socially sanctioned, being veiled came to be associated par excellence with Muslims and more particularly in recent years with Islamic fundamentalism. This has been particularly the case in France ever since the incident which took place in the autumn of 1989, when North African Muslim girls showed up at their public school in Creil, near Paris, with their heads covered with large scarves in the fashion of neo-Islamic dress. The incident, which was viewed by the French authorities as a transgression of Republican France's laws of *laïcité* (separation of Church and State) caused a national scandal and stirred an enormous debate throughout the country and the Francophone world. The cover of the prestigious magazine *L'Express International* (November 1994) bore the headline "Foulard: Le Complot: Comment les Islamistes Infil-

¹ See *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* 2 (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1971), p. 3433, s.v. "turban," 1b. Concerning the place of the 'īmāma (turban) in Islam, see Chapter One above.

² *Ibid.*, p. 3599, s.v. "veil," I.1b.

trent La France.” Books with titles such as *The Scarf and the Republic*, *The Veiled Ones of Islam*, and *Veiled Women: Fundamentalisms Unmasked*, have proliferated as a result and have wide circulation.³ Books with evocative titles that include the word veil, such as *Beyond the Veil*, by a Moroccan feminist, or *Behind the Veil in Arabia*, by a Swedish ethnographer, clearly employ the word as a synecdoche for women in Arab and Islamic society. And despite the fact that veiling, seclusion, and sexuality have often been simplistic reductionist themes for Western Orientalist romanticists and polemicists, nevertheless, it has been in one form or another a very significant element in the history and sociology of Islamic attire.⁴

Although veils and veiling have been discussed in all of the previous chapters and will be discussed in the succeeding chapter on the modern period as well, it is appropriate to survey in a separate chapter this fundamental and lasting aspect of the traditional Islamic vestimentary system.

Veiling in Early Islam

The veil and veiling in general is referred to in Arabic as *hijāb*. Like the word “veil” (from Latin *vela*) and its equivalent in other European languages, it can indicate both a garment and an actual curtain (and by extension, any separation). It is in the latter sense that the word is mainly used in the Qur’ān.⁵ The divine effulgence is curtained off from humanity by a veil, an image which already existed in the Talmud.⁶ Eventually in Islamic society the sexual sanctity of respectable femininity came to be screened off as well, beginning—as shall be seen below—with the Prophet’s womenfolk. Although this is not

³ Françoise Gaspard and Fahrad Khosrokhavar, *Le foulard et la République* (La Découverte: Paris, 1995); Hide Taarji, *Les voilées de l’Islam* (Eddif: Casablanca, 1991); Yolande Geadah, *Femme voilées: intégrismes démasqués* (VLB: Montreal, 1996).

⁴ See the critiques in Nancy Lindsfarne-Tapper and Bruce Ingham, “Approaches to the Study of Dress in the Middle East,” in *Languages of Dress in the Middle East*, ed. Nancy Lindsfarne-Tapper and Bruce Ingham (Curzon Press: Surrey, 1997), pp. 12-16.

⁵ As curtain or separation: Suras VII:46; XVII:45; XIX:17; XXXIII:53; XXX-VIII:32; XLII:51.

⁶ Concerning the heavenly curtain (Hebrew/Aramaic *pargod*), see BT *Hagiga* 15a.

to say by any means that veiling was a total innovation in early Islam.

The practice of women veiling which most commonly meant enveloping the body from head to toe and under certain circumstances wearing a cloth or mask over the face when going out was widespread in the eastern Mediterranean in Antiquity, long before the rise of Islam. Veiling in various ways and social contexts was practiced in ancient Persia, Mesopotamia, Israel, Greece, and pre-Islamic Arabia.⁷ Total envelopment or being screened off, which in Jāhilī poetry is referred to by such terms as *sitr*, *sijf*, and *nasīf*, seems to have been mainly the prerogative of royal and noble women.⁸ This total concealment was true *hijāb*, and due to the Prophet's exalted status, his wives wore veils early on. 'Ā'isha is said to have worn a veil from the time of her marriage in the Spring of 623/1, although strict veiling does not seem to have been the general practice in the early Umma. Only around the fifth year of the Hijra (626-27) does Muḥammad receive a revelation that his womenfolk and those of the believers should envelop themselves for the sake of identification and protection in their *jalābīb* (singular *jilbāb*), which like the *khimār* and *mirṭ* was primarily a woman's outdoor wrap:

O Prophet, tell your wives, your daughters, and the womenfolk of the Believers to draw their *jalābīb* close about them. That is most appropriate so that they be recognized and not be molested. God is forgiving and merciful. (Sura XXXIII:59)

Although we cannot identify any precise or specific time when *hijāb* became universal, strict veiling practices probably evolved as the norm for middle and upper class Muslim women over the first two centuries of the Islamic era in the cities and towns of the caliphate, especially as following the Prophet's *sunna* became increasingly important and the Traditionalists began collecting and producing an ever expanding body of *hadīth*. Imitating his personal practice was the Muslim parallel to *imitatio Dei* in Christendom.

⁷ For a brief introduction, with a survey of some important literature on veiling in antiquity, see Emile Marmorstein, "The Veil in Judaism and Islam," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 5 (1954), pp. 1-11; for references on ancient Persia, see Jennifer M. Scarce, "The Development of Women's Veils in Persia and Afghanistan," *Costume* 5 (1975), pp. 5-6 and the notes on p. 13.

⁸ See 'Alī al-Hāshimī, *al-Mar'a fi 'l-Shi'r al-Jāhilī* (Matba'a al-Ma'arif: Baghdad, 1960), pp. 79-80 and 146; and also Joseph Chelhod, "Hidjāb," *EP* 3, p. 359.

In another early Medinese sura, in which Muslim women are enjoined to be modest, it is their bosoms rather than their faces that they are specifically enjoined to veil:

Tell the female Believers that they should lower their gaze, guard their chastity, to reveal of their adornments only that which is apparent, and to cast their veils [*khumur*] over their bosoms.
(Sura XXIV:31)

It is noteworthy that the references to veils and veiling in the canonical *hadīth* collections are not terribly numerous, nor are they exclusively in a female context. Furthermore, the Arabic vocabulary as one commonly finds in so many cultural spheres in the early days of Islam seems fluid and not always precise or technical. The verb *taqanna'a*, for example, often seems to indicate simply wrapping oneself in one's garment and not actually wearing a veil (*qinā'*). And even the word *qinā'* itself, like the word veil in English could mean a covering for the head or face.⁹ Likewise, the verbs *khammara* and *ikhtamara* can mean simply to cover one's face with one's outer wrap, such as an *izār* or a *jilbāb*, and not necessarily wearing the face veil known as a *khimār*, which itself also seems to have been used at times in the sense of mantle or wrap.¹⁰ In the *hadīth* literature, veiling can simply mean to cover the breast. In one rather unclear tradition, the wives of the first emigrés to Medina, cut up their *murūṭ* in order to fulfill the injunction of Sura XXIV:31 to veil their bosoms. Since the *mirṭ* is an enveloping wrap, it is not clear why they should have to cut it in pieces, unless it was to make an actual face veil (*khimār*) that hung down over the breasts as well.¹¹ The evidence, therefore, from the traditional literature is not overwhelming one way or the other as to how ubiquitous, how hermetic in nature, or even how important a social and moral issue was veiling in the early Islamic centuries.

⁹ See for example, al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, bāb 16; or *ibid.*, *Kitāb al-Anbiyā'*, bāb 17, *hadīth* 4; and for numerous other instances, see A. J. Wensinck and J. P. Mensing, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane* (Brill: Leiden, 1965), p. 475, s.v. *taqanna'a*. For a discussion of *qinā'* in both senses of head and face covering, see R. P. A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtement chez les Arabes* (Jean Müller: Amsterdam, 1845), pp. 375-378.

¹⁰ Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Janā'iz*, bāb 103: *wa-khtamartu wa-taqanna'tu izārī*; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, bāb 34, *hadīth* 1: *fa-khammarta wajhi bi-jilbābī*.

¹¹ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, *Sūrat al-Nūr*, bāb 12, *hadīth* 1 and 2: *shaqaqna murūṭahunna fa-khtamarna bihi*.

Veiling Under the Great Caliphates and the Successor Military Dynasties

As noted in Chapter Two, women in Umayyad art are represented clad, semiclad, and unclad. Even clad, they are invariably without a face veil and usually without a head veil.¹² However, this palace art, which in any case retains many elements of Hellenistic prototypes, probably depicts most often the paradisical houris or harem slavegirls rather than normal urban women. In the outdoor genre scenes, as for example in Qusayr 'Amra (see Chapter Two), the women are probably young peasant girls who had to perform work and would not therefore be veiled either. As already noted in Chapter Three above, medieval manuscript illuminations five or six centuries later show peasant women both at work in the village and in the fields totally unveiled (see Pls. 53 and 28).

By the 'Abbasid period, veiling is clearly taken for granted. The arbiter of fashion and good taste al-Washshā' mentions a face veil, *miqna'a* or *miqna'*, as a basic item of female outdoor attire along with a headdress, *mi'jar*, and an enveloping wrap, *izār*. Al-Washshā' mentions the veils of Nishapur as being particularly fashionable, and according to a number of medieval geographers, other Iranian cities such as Jurjan and Sarakhs were also centers of veil production.¹³

Other authors from the 'Abbasid period mention the *niqāb*, a mask-like veil that usually covered the entire face and had two holes for the eyes (the Arabic verb *naqaba* means “to bore a hole”), as being the common veil worn by women when going out of doors in this period. As is so often the case with Arabic clothing vocabulary, the *niqāb* was often more or less synonymous with other terms. For example, the *waṣwāṣa* (whose very name is derived from the verb meaning “to peep through a hole or crack”) and the common *burqu'* seem at certain

¹² One example of a woman, a very Hellenistic personification of Fortune, with a head veil is from the throne room at Qusayr 'Amra. See Martin Almagro Basch et al., *Qusayr 'Amra: Residencia y baños omeyas en el desierto de Jordania* (Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales: Madrid, 1975), Pl. IXb.

¹³ al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā' aw al-Ζarf wa 'l-Ζurafā'* (Māṭba'at al-I'timād: Cairo, 1953/1372), p. 163; al-Muqaddasi, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Brill: Leiden, 1906), p. 367; Yāqūt, *Kitāb Mu'jam al-Buldān* III [Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch], ed. F. Wüstenfeld (F. A. Brockhaus: Leipzig, 1868), p. 72.

times (as for example today in the Persian Gulf region) not to have been appreciably different from the *niqāb* (see fig. 9)¹⁴ By the High Middle Ages, the *niqāb* seems to have become a basic part of the feminine wardrobe and one of the most common face veils in the Levant. In fact, it is one of the most frequently listed items in the Geniza trousseaux. It came in a wide variety of colors, including white, pearl, grey, blue and black, with white and light colors being most common. *Nuqub* could be decorated with silk embroidered, gilded, or decorated with colored borders. An individual *niqāb* during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods could range in price from one half to two dinars. (It should be recalled that two dinars was sufficient to maintain a working class family for a month.)¹⁵ Oddly enough, the *niqāb* is depicted only extremely rarely in medieval illuminated manuscripts despite the fact that it is such a common item in the Geniza trousseaux (see Pl. 32).

The Geniza trousseau lists make it eminently clear that by Fatimid times, veiling was as basic for Jewish women (and one might suppose for Middle Eastern Christian women too) as it was for Muslims contrary to the assertions of some historians, among them the distinguished Salo Baron, to the contrary.¹⁶ More than half the clothing names in the Geniza trousseaux are for veils, wraps and headcoverings.¹⁷

¹⁴ See U. Wikan, *Behind the Veil in Arabia: Women in Oman* (Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 1982), pp. 88-108; and Dawn Chatty, "The Burqa Face Cover: An Aspect of Dress in Southeastern Arabia," in *Languages of Dress in the Middle East* ed. Nancy Lindisfarne-Tapper and Bruce Ingham (Curzon Press: Surrey, 1997), pp. 127-148.

¹⁵ See the sources cited in Muhammad Manazir Ahsan, *Social Life Under the Abbasids* (Longman: London and New York, 1979), p. 67, n. 327; also Muhammad Murtadā al-Zabidi, *Tāj al-Ārūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs* (Dar Maktabat al-Ḥayat: Beirut, n.d., repr. of Būlāq Press: Cairo 1306-1310 A.H., I, p. 492; and Dozy, *Vêtements*, pp. 424-426. For the Geniza period, see Yedida K. Stillman, "Female Attire in Medieval Egypt: According to the Trousseau Lists and Cognate Materials from the Cairo Geniza" (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1972), pp. 175-178, where the data from some thirty trousseau lists are reported.

¹⁶ Salo W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* III (Columbia University Press and Jewish Publication Society: New York and Philadelphia, 1957), p. 142.

¹⁷ See Stillman, "Female Attire of Medieval Egypt," pp. 39-63 (wraps and mantles); pp. 116-202 (headgear and veils). For a detailed discussion of veiling in the Islamic Middle Ages from Geniza and rabbinic sources, see Mordechai Akiva Friedman, "Halakha as Evidence of Sexual Life among Jews in Muslim Countries in the Middle Ages," *Pe'anim* 45 (1990), pp. 91-99 [in Hebrew].

How strict was Jewish female veiling prior to the Islamic conquest of the Near East is not clear. The talmudic evidence is ambiguous, and it appears that the uncovered head was considered to have been far more offensive than the uncovered face.¹⁸ But what seems to have been an easy acculturation by medieval Oriental Jewry into the Islamic vestimentary system can be explained *inter alia* by the fact that Judaism and Islam shared similar concepts of corporal modesty, similar notions about women as beings in the social order, and a similar halakhic/shari‘ī legal outlook which included sartorial matters in its purview.¹⁹ Both Muslims and Jews shared the notion that a woman by her very nature required protection. Her innate weakness and her sexuality were a potential source of dishonor. Indeed, a man’s *‘ird* (honor) can in polite Arabic speech to this day mean his “wife.” Similarly, a woman is a man’s house, a euphemism very common in Hebrew and also found in Arabic. In earlier tribal, warrior society, protecting honor and home simply meant physical defense. In the cosmopolitan setting of the medieval Islamic town and city, it meant veiling, chaperoning, and in the extreme, secluding. But these latter practices were never feasible in peasant, village society since women there had to help in the fields. In thirteenth/seventh- and fourteenth/eighth-century illuminations of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī and the *Kitāb al-Diyāq* of pseudo-Galen, village women are depicted as unveiled both in and out of doors (see Pls. 28 and 53).²⁰ Normally servant girls, entertainers, beggars, and other demi-monde types did not veil either.²¹

¹⁸ Cf. for example Mishna Tractate Shabbat 6:6 that mentions Arabian (presumably Jewish) women going out veiled (Hebrew *re’ulot*), but at the same time implying that not all Jewish women in late Antiquity did so. Mishna Tractate Nashim 7:6, on the other hand makes it clear that for any Jewish woman to go out with her head uncovered (*ve-roshah paru‘a*) was an impermissible breach of decorum and was grounds for divorce without the return of dowry. For more evidence, see Marmorstein, “The Veil in Judaism and Islam,” pp. 1-11.

¹⁹ For a broader discussion of shared perspectives, see Yedida K. Stillman, “Attitudes toward Women in Traditional Near Eastern Societies,” in *Studies in Judaism and Islam Presented to Shelomo Dov Goitein*, ed. S. Morag, I. Ben-Ami, and N. A. Stillman (Magnes Press: Jerusalem, 1981), pp. 345-360.

²⁰ See, for example, Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 5847, fol 138; and ibid., ms arabe 2964, fol. 22.

²¹ Ibid., fols. 139v and 140(servants); Bodleian Library (Oxford), Marsh 458, fol. 65v (servant); and British Museum (London) Or 1200, fol. 106 (singer); Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 3465, fol 131v (what appears to be a female member of a band of thieves).

The wearing of the veil eventually had become so absolutely de rigueur in public in the polite urban setting that “uncovering the face” (*kashf al-wajh*) by the High Middle Ages took on the general idiomatic meaning in Arabic of being exposed to shame or as one says in English “losing face.”²² Women might appear unveiled in public in times of crisis as a symbolic act of their distress and their helplessness as supplicants. Thus, for example, the women of Damascus go out into the streets unveiled at the approach of the Mongol Ilkhān Ghazān in 1300/699, and the mothers of two princes suspected of sedition plead with uncovered faces on behalf of their sons before the Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil Sha'bān (ruled 1345-1377/746-778).²³ Women are frequently—although by no means always—depicted with their faces unveiled in medieval *Maqāmāt* manuscript illuminations of courtroom scenes in which they are standing before a *qādī* (see Pl. 54).²⁴

Women in mourning also appeared unveiled in funeral processions. In a mid-thirteenth-century *Maqāmāt* illustration, barefaced women are shown wailing and beating their faces at a graveside (see Pl. 55). This was not apparently always the custom, since the tenth/fourth-century theologian Ibn Baṭṭā criticizes this practice as *biḍ'a*, or heretical innovation.²⁵

The only apparent exception to the absolute ubiquity of urban female veiling in the medieval Arab world seems to have been in the Muslim West, particularly in Spain. As already mentioned in Chapter Four, there is ample evidence that during the tenth/fourth, eleventh/fifth, and twelfth/sixth centuries (and therefore, presumably earlier as well) not all free urban women went about veiled all of the time. Mālikī jurists decried the apparently widespread permissibility among the common folk of allowing their fiancées and wives to appear unveiled

²² See S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* II (University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967-1988), p. 142.

²³ See these and other examples cited by L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume: A Survey* (Albert Kundig: Geneva, 1952), p. 7, n. 6.

²⁴ In addition to Pl. 54, see also Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), ms arabe 3929, fol. 54; ms arabe 6094, fol. 139; British Museum (London) Add 22114, fol. 164.

²⁵ See Ibn Baṭṭā, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Batta, traditionniste et jurisconsulte musulman d'école hanbalite, mort en Irak à 'Ukbarā en 387/997*, ed. and trans. Henri Laoust (Damascus, 1958), p. 152.

before men who were not immediate family. This is further confirmed by the illustrations of the Andalusian romance of *Bayād wa-Riyād*, in which women invariably are depicted unveiled (see Pl. 39).²⁶ The most likely explanation for this relaxed attitude is the very different social composition of Andalusian society with its very large European non-Muslim component and the considerable Berber element in the population. Veiling had not historically been as strict among either of these groups as it had been among Middle Easterners. Furthermore, al-Andalus had become an independent principality at the western extreme of the Dār al-Islām under Umayyad rule as of 756/138. The regime established by ‘Abd al-Rahmān I and other refugees at first tried to replicate as much as possible the society of the Syrian caliphate under which veiling may not as yet have been as strict and as universal as it became under the ‘Abbasids who supplanted them. And lastly, it may also have been due to the freer, less secluded position of women in Islamic Spain than that of their counterparts in the Middle East.²⁷

In North Africa, too, not all women veiled until the Almohad period. This lack of strictness in veiling was clearly due to the overwhelming Berber population which—especially in the Further Maghreb—was not fully islamized, much less arabized, well into the Middle Ages. The prudish Mahdī Ibn Tūmart was both embarrassed and scandalized at the sight of unveiled women of both high and low class in Algeria and Morocco when he returned from the Middle East in around 1116/510 or 1117/511. Presumably, veiling became more widespread in the Maghreb under the Almohads and their successors.²⁸

Evidence for How Medieval Veils Actually Looked

Artistic evidence for how different types of veils known from the literary sources actually looked becomes far clearer for the late ‘Ab-

²⁶ In one single illumination, a servant woman delivering a message to the male lover, draws her cloak across her face (see Pl. 40).

²⁷ See the fairly numerous sources cited above in Chapter Four, n. 16.

²⁸ See nn. 23-24 in Chapter Four above.

basid, Ayyubid, and most especially the Mamluk period. Mayer has pointed to three types of face veils that can be distinguished for the latter period: a black mesh or net covering the entire face, a dark cloth covering the entire face, but with two eye-holes, and a light or dark cloth covering the entire face below the eyes (see Pl. 56). These are the *migna'a*, which in its wider version was called *qinā'*,²⁹ the *niqāb*, and the *burqu'*, respectively. 'Abd al-Raziq adds to these three the *sha'riyya*, a short horse hair or goat-wool net that fell down from the head to just below the eyes. This last veil was already common in the early Ayyubid period as the Cairo Geniza trousseau lists testify. They came in colors ranging from aloes wood (i.e. blackish), to green, pomegranate, and red. The late fifteenth-century Italian traveler Leonardo Frescobaldi mentions that "the more noble [women of Cairo] carry a black tamin before their eyes so that they cannot be seen, but they see others very well." Based on an actual veil excavated at Quseir al-Qadim on the Red Sea, Gillian Eastwood has identified what she designates as another type, but is actually a variant of the *niqāb*.³⁰ In fact it is most probable that all of these veils came in varying forms and colors according to fashion. However, these stylistic variations which could be greater or lesser are not usually obvious from either the manuscript illuminations or the literary references and can often only be ascertained from the Geniza trousseau descriptions or from actual relics. (For example, a Mamluk period veil excavated at Qasr Ibrim in Upper Egypt is of crimson silk and is edged with brown wool braiding).³¹

²⁹ For this distinction between the *migna'a* and *qinā'*, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥājj, *al-Madkhāl* (Al-Maṭba'a al-Miṣriyya bil-Azhar: Cairo, 1969/1348), p. 144. It is not entirely clear whether or not the legal-minded Ibn al-Ḥājj actually could himself visually distinguish between the two since he is citing a variety of lexicographical and historical sources in defining these terms.

³⁰ Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 73; 'Abd ar-Raziq, *La femme au temps des Mamlouks* (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale: Cairo, 1973), p. 245; Stillman, "Female Attire of Medieval Egypt," pp. 195-196, where the earliest dated trousseau listing a *sha'riyya* is from 1117—Bodl. MS Heb. a 3 (2873), f. 42—although some of the others may even be earlier; Leonardo Frescobaldi, Giorgio Gucci and Simone Sigoldi, *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria in 1384*, T. Bellorini and E. Hoade Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, No. 6 (Franciscan Press: Jerusalem, 1948), p. 47; Gillian Eastwood, "A Medieval Face-Veil from Egypt," *Costume* 17 (1983), p. 36.

³¹ Eastwood, "A Medieval Face-Veil from Egypt," p. 35. For an example of a

It is somewhat puzzling that the small, mask-like *niqāb*, which is frequently among the items of a bride's trousseau in the Geniza, is only rarely depicted in medieval manuscript illuminations. Perhaps it was worn only in particular circumstances, a public indoor space, such as a mosque or synagogue, rather than in the street. The clearest single illustration of women wearing the *niqāb* depicts them sitting in the women's gallery of a mosque (see Pl. 32). Or perhaps it came in a smaller indoor and a larger outdoor version. In several medieval illustrations, women are depicted wearing a sac-like veil covering the entire head with either two round eyeholes or a longer rectangular cut-out across both eyes for vision. These latter veils which were of dark fabric, such as black or red, were held in place by a band of cloth ('iṣāba, or in the Eastern part of the Islamic world—*sar band*), and they seem to be shown only in outdoor scenes (see Pl. 19).³²

The great variety of face veils that were common in most of the Arab world during the Middle Ages declined for reasons that are not entirely clear after the Ottoman conquest of the Levant and much of North Africa. By early modern times, it seems that in most Arab countries, the majority of urban Muslim women wore one particular regional style of face veil. In Egypt, it was the harness-like *burqu'* which was normally either of white muslin or, alternatively, coarse dark crepe (see Pl. 57), although *sharfāt*, or descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, sometimes wore a green one. In Algeria, it was the small 'iṭār, which somewhat resembled a surgeon's mask and was of light, white fabric. In Morocco, it was the *lithām*, a long white rectangular cloth (in the Andalusian towns of the northern part of the country, it was triangular) that tied behind the head and hung from just below the eyes down to the chest (see Pls. 58 and 59). In the countries of the Arabian Gulf, it was the *niqāb*, also called *burqu'*, which in that region was a dark upper- or full face mask of stiff material with two eye holes (see fig. 9). The Ottoman conquest also

crimson veil in a mid-thirteenth/sixth-century manuscript, probably from Mosul, of the *Kitāb al-Diryāq*, see Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), ms arabe 2964, fol.

³² For the sac-like over-the-head kind of veil with eyeholes, see Academy of Sciences Oriental Institute (St. Petersburg) ms S. 23, p. 288; and for the variant with the entire area over the eyes and eyebrows cut away, see Nationalbibliothek (Vienna) A.F. 10, fol. 3, in Dorothea Duda, *Islamische Handschriften II* Tafelband (Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Vienna, 1992), Farbtafel I.

brought a number of Turkish fashions into the Arab world, including the face veil known as the *yashmaq* (see Pl. 60). This was similar to the *burqu'*, and was often simply synonymous with it. It was longer than the regular *burqu'*, reaching down as far as the waist or lower. In Iraq, which was at times under Iranian rule, the *bīsha* (from Persian *pīča*), a black net of woven horsehair covering the entire face and similar to the *sha'riyya* of the Middle Ages was the principal face veil (see Pl. 61). The face screens of this sort, called *sītāra* and *sharshaf* were also the norm for Yemeni women. In Dhofar (Zufār), southern Arabia, this same veil is to this day referred to as *niqāb*, a good example of the fluidity and interchangeability, not only of veils, but a range of vestimentary terms.³³

Throughout the length and breadth of the Arab world during this period, the large enveloping outer wraps such as the *habara* and *milāya* (*mulā'a*) in Egypt, the *safsārī* in Tunisia and Libya, the *hā'ik*, *milhafa*, *fūṭa*, *izār*, and *takhīlā* in Morocco and Algeria, could all be drawn across a woman's face as a veil as well, and be kept in place either by one hand or being held in the teeth (see Pl. 62). This style is shown in several medieval manuscripts from both the Middle East and the Maghreb (see Pl. 40).³⁴ The same was true for less ample head scarves and shawls (as for example the *mandīl* and the *minshafa* worn in the Levant and the *fishṭūl*, *sabaniyya*, and *tastmal* worn in the Maghreb). The French writer Castellan in the early nineteenth century notes that Turkish women could crisscross their head shawls over their shoulders and faces "a thousand different ways, either to hide a de-

³³ See Edward William Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (J. M. Dent & Sons: London, 1908), pp. 46-51 and the illustrations there; Georges Marçais, *Le costume musulman d'Algérie* (Librairie Plon: Paris, 1930), p. 103; Wikan, *Behind the Veil*, pp. 88-108; Aida Sami Kanafani, *Aesthetics and Ritual in the United Arab Emirates* (American University of Beirut: Beirut, 1983), pp. 64-72; Yedida K. Stillman, *Palestinian Costume and Jewelry* (University of New Mexico Press: Albuquerque, 1979), p. 89; *al-Libās wa 'l-Zīna fi 'l-Ālam al-'Arabī*. (Sharikat al-Maṭbū'āt al-Tawzī wa'l-Nashr: Beirut, 1992), p. 21; Yedida K. Stillman and Norman A. Stillman, "Libās: Iran," *EP* V, p. 749; Carla Makhlof, *Changing Veils: Women and Modernisation in North Yemen* (Croom Helm: London, 1979), pp. 32-33; Chatty, "The Burqa Face Cover," p. 146, Fig. 37.

³⁴ In addition to Pl. 40 from the Islamic West, see the courtroom scene in Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 3932, fol. 15 and Pl. 54.

fect, or to reveal something attractive.”³⁵ Interestingly, the anthropologist Aida Kanafani in her study of aesthetics in the United Arab Emirates, notes along the exact same lines that the *burqu'* worn by women there is considered “to beautify the face by covering what is considered ugly and by enhancing what is considered beautiful.” This dual argument that the veil both covers blemishes and highlights what is beautiful is made by others as well, both Muslim and European.³⁶

Modern Times

The question of veiling, or *hijāb* in the broadest sense, became a major issue in the modern era with the Islamic world’s encounter with modernity itself. It was at first the women in the non-Muslim minority communities who began to abandon the veil during the nineteenth century. They were facilitated in this by a number of factors. First, *dhimmīs* were more likely to come into direct contact with Westerners than were Muslims as European commercial expansion increased in the region. Already for several centuries, native Christians and Jews had acted as intermediaries between the foreigners and the local population. They were more likely to know and certainly more willing to learn foreign languages. And during the nineteenth century in particular, they were more likely to avail themselves of the opportunities for European protection under the Capitulation agreements which effectively removed them from their humble *dhimmī* status and turned them into European subjects. Finally, they came to adopt certain symbolic manifestations of a modern, that is western, identity in certain elements of their manners, lifestyle and material culture, including dress. Western dress, like other European accoutrements, came to be regarded as marks of prestige. As Daniel Schroeter has pointed out, it was not uncommon for Moroccan Jew-

³⁵ A. L. Castellan, *Moeurs, usages, costumes des Ottomans et abrégé de leur histoire* VI (Nepveu: Paris, 1812), p. 40.

³⁶ Kanafani, *Aesthetics and Ritual in the United Arab Emirates*, p. 72; see also *ibid.*, pp. 68-69. For other examples of this argument, see Gérard de Nerval, *The Women of Cairo: Scenes of Life in the Orient* I (G. Routledge & Sons: London, 1929), p. 3.

ish merchants who had foreign ties to have two parlours in their homes, one in the traditional Moroccan style, the other decorated with European furnishings.³⁷ No less important than cultural influences that came through commercial contacts was the formative educational influence of the Alliance Israélite Universelle schools for Jews and the missionary schools for Jews and Christians—and both of which included schools for girls—that spread throughout the Middle East and North Africa during the nineteenth century. In addition to providing a modern education, these institutions transmitted—or to be more precise, inculcated—Western values and tastes as part of their “civilizing mission.”³⁸

The process of abandoning the veil by Christian and Jewish women in the Arab world proceeded gradually throughout the second half of the nineteenth and rapidly throughout the twentieth century in those cities of the Middle East and North Africa where European influences were strongest and where there was a considerable non-Muslim population. In Beirut, for example, Christian women had abandoned the veil by 1890.³⁹ This process may also have been facilitated by the fact that the segregation of women among Christians and Jews was never quite as total and hermetic as in Islamic society. For example, we know from the Geniza records that even in the Middle Ages there was no real *ḥarīm* in Jewish (and presumably Christian) homes.⁴⁰ In general, it would appear that the abandonment of the veil was a progressive process, with women first wearing western, or at least western-influenced clothing, indoors while still going in public in full or modified *hijāb*.⁴¹

³⁷ Daniel Schroeter, *Merchants of Essaouira: Urban Society and Imperialism in Southwestern Morocco, 1844-1886* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1988), p. 59.

³⁸ On the influence of these schools, see Norman A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times* (Jewish Publication Society: Philadelphia, 1991), pp. 18-25 and the additional bibliography cited there in the notes. See also the specific testimony of the Coptic intellectual, Salāma Mūsā, who attributes the abandonment of the veil by his mother, sister, and others to the influence of Protestant missionaries, in his *Tarbiyat Salāma Mūsā* (Dār al-Kātib al-Miṣrī: Cairo, 1948), p. 25; *The Education of Salama Mūsā*, tr. L. O. Schuman (E. J. Brill: Leiden, 1961), p. 15.

³⁹ Gabriel Baer, *Population and Society in the Arab East* (Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, 1964), p. 42.

⁴⁰ Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* I, p. 71.

⁴¹ Thus the conclusions of Scarce for nineteenth-century Egyptian Armenian

The abandonment of the veil by Muslim women came much later and more slowly than in the case of the Christians and Jews. This lag accords with Toffler's general observation that "minorities experiment; while majorities cling to the forms of the past."⁴² The earliest instances of Muslim women abandoning the veil began outside the Arab lands in Ottoman Turkey. Already in the nineteenth century upper class women among the modernizing and westernizing élites of the Tanzimat era began wearing European or European-inspired clothing indoors though still wearing a face veil, the *yashmaq*, outside, a similar evolutionary progression to that of the non-Muslim women, as noted above. Gradually upper class women began wearing thin, gauzy face veils, both black and white, that revealed the features beneath. As Micklewright has pointed out, this evolutionary process began with minor elements of the new foreign fashion, followed by newer garments integrating these elements, and later still, new accessories. She further observed that the last elements of the traditional vestimentary system to be abandoned were "the ones most heavily invested with social or symbolic importance: headgear, or garments worn in a ritual context."⁴³ And these, of course, included both face and head veils. Already early in the twentieth century some women in Ottoman Turkey were wearing European-style face veils that were attached to large European-style women's hats as a transition from indigenous Islamic vestimentary norms to Western fashion (Pl. 63), although this particular compromise does not seem to have penetrated the Arab countries until slightly later.⁴⁴

and Greek women. See Jennifer Scarce, *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East* (Unwin Hyman: London and Sydney, 1987), p. 131.

⁴² Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (Bantam Books: New York, 1971), p. 221.

⁴³ Nancy Micklewright, "Women's Dress in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul: Mirror of a Changing Society" (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1986), p. 217. In addition to Micklewright, *ibid.*, and Scarce, *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East*; see also John Norton, "Faith and Fashion in Turkey," in *Languages of Dress in the Middle East*, pp. 155-157, and in particular p. 156, Fig. 39, showing "An Ottoman woman dressed à la Franka."

⁴⁴ See Byron D. Cannon, "Nineteenth-Century Arabic Writings on Women and Society: The Interim Role of the Masonic Press in Cairo—(AL-LATĀ'IF, 1885-1895)," *IFMES* 17 (1985), pp. 463-484.

Modernization, the Early Arab Women's Movement, and Unveiling

Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Egypt was the first major battle ground in the Muslim Arab world between the forces of religious and social traditionalism and the emerging forces of modernizing religious and social reform. The question of “to veil or not to veil” (*hijāb* versus *sufūr*) was one of the burning issues in the clash between the two camps.

The issue of improving the overall status of Arab women was raised in the late nineteenth century by reform-minded male thinkers such as Rifa'a Tahtawī (1801-1873) and 'Alī Mubārak (1824-1893).⁴⁵ But it was another male intellectual Qāsim Amīn (1863-1908), who in 1899, published his famous book calling for women's liberation, entitled *Tahrīr al-Mar'a* (The Liberation of the Woman). In this and a book that appeared one year later, entitled *al-Mar'a al-Ādīda* (The New Woman), he advocated *sufūr* as one of the steps needed for women's emancipation and social progress.⁴⁶ Amīn's call for unveiling along with other reforms, elicited other books attacking his position and defending the veil and seclusion, such as Muḥammad Tal'at Ḥarb's *Tarbiyat al-Mar'a wa 'l-Hijāb* (The Education of Women and Veiling/Seclusion) and *Faṣl al-Khiṭāb fi 'l-Mar'a wa 'l-Hijāb* (The Decisive Oration on Women and Veiling/Seclusion).⁴⁷ The debate pro and con over the merits of *hijāb* versus *sufūr* went on not only in the general press, but also in the new women's journals and magazines that had begun to appear as of the late nineteenth century and flourished in the first decades of the twentieth. And in the women's press, not all of the writers by any means were advocates of unveiling.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 469-473.

⁴⁶ Qāsim Amīn, *Tahrīr al-Mar'a* (Maktabat al-Taraqqī: Cairo, 1899 and numerous later editions); English translation: *The Liberation of Women: A Document in the History of Egyptian Feminism* (American University in Cairo Press: Cairo, 1992); *idem*, *al-Mar'a al-Ādīda* (n.p.: Cairo, 1900 and numerous later editions); English translation in Mary Flounders Arnett, “Qasim Amin and the Beginnings of the Feminist Movement in Egypt, (Ph. D. diss., Dropsie College, 1965).

⁴⁷ For a summary of the debate between Amīn and Tal'at Ḥarb, see Juan Ricardo Cole, “Feminism, Class, and Islam in Turn-of-the-Century Egypt,” *IJMES* 13:4 (November 1981), pp. 402-404.

⁴⁸ For a thorough survey of the various stances in the Egyptian women's press, see Beth Baron, “Unveiling in Early Twentieth Century Egypt: Practical and Symbolic Considerations,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 25 (1989), pp. 370-386; and *eadem*, *The*

This was because veiling had always been an indicator of social class, and traditionally not only peasant villagers, but “many of the women of the lower orders” (as Lane put it), went about in public unveiled.⁴⁹

During the first decade of the twentieth century, some upper class Egyptian women began adopting the transitional compromise between strict *hijāb* and outright *sufīr* already seen in late nineteenth-century Turkey by wearing sheer, transparent veils that maintained the formality of veiling, while revealing all. Transparent veils were nothing new, of course. As already noted in Chapter Three, medieval manuscript illuminations depict some women wearing sheer veils through which the facial features are entirely clear. The French observer de Guerville got the impression that the thickness of the veil was purely a class issue. “Whilst the women one meets on foot in the street,” he noted, “have an impenetrable veil hiding the lower part of the face, those whom one sees passing rapidly in a smart brougham or landau wear only the lightest white gauze, which in no way hides their features.”⁵⁰ But the social reality of veiling was more complex. As noted above, in addition to peasant villagers, the very poorest urban women went about entirely unveiled. A rare few among the earliest feminists, such as Nabawiyya Mūsā (1890-1951) unveiled toward the end of the first decade of the new century.⁵¹ Many of the women of the wealthiest and highest class (that is old wealth as opposed to nouveau riche) still practiced the strictest *hijāb* (in both senses of seclusion and veiling). And many intellectuals, male and female, who supported education for women and other modernist reforms nevertheless, opposed *sufīr* on a variety of grounds. This staunch opposition can in part be explained as a nationalist cultural response to the

Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press (Yale University Press: New Haven, 1994), pp. 34, 62, 76 *et passim*.

⁴⁹ On unveiled women in the early nineteenth century, see Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 51; see also the remarkable photograph of an unveiled Egyptian washerwoman taken in the mid-nineteenth century by the Frenchman Pierre Trémaux in Sarah Graham-Brown, *Images of Women: The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860-1950* (Columbia University Press: New York, 1988), p. 37.

⁵⁰ A. B. de Guerville, *New Egypt* (William Heinemann: London, 1906), p. 148, cited in Cole, “Feminism, Class, and Islam in Turn-of-the-Century Egypt,” p. 398.

⁵¹ Margot Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation: Gender and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1995), pp. 23 and 67-69.

British who had occupied Egypt since 1882.⁵² Some women of the new middle class, who began to enjoy an unprecedented degree of mobility, actually considered the veil as a form of protection as they ventured out more into public.

One of the most notable and dramatic moments in the progressive abandonment of the veil in Egypt was in 1923, when the famous Egyptian feminist Hudā Sha'rāwī (1879-1947) solemnly cast her veil into the Mediterranean as she returned home from a women's congress in Rome. She publicly repeated the gesture, by drawing back her face veil as she stepped off the train at the Cairo railway station to the cheers of her followers who were waiting to greet her. Her symbolic action was soon followed by many upper and upper-middle class women, but not by women of the petite bourgeoisie, which remained the last stronghold of tradition. Within a generation, the veil had practically disappeared in Egypt, except among the latter.⁵³ Being the great center of both modern and traditional Arab culture, by far the most populous Arab nation, and the primary producer and distributor of motion pictures in Arabic, it came to have a contributing influence, along with other factors already mentioned such as religious and cultural missionary schools, on the progressive abandonment of the veil by women in other Arab countries. With regard to the influence of the film industry on unveiling, it is interesting to note how the great Arab singing and movie star Umm Kulthūm, who in her early publicity photos in the 1920s and very early '30s was shown with her head covered with head veils, such as the *tarḥa*, by 1932 was appearing in portraits with her head uncovered.⁵⁴

The progressive abandonment of the veil was not just a matter of some women suddenly removing their traditional outer covering once and for all, while others still had not. Many women appeared in public veiled or unveiled according to the occasion, as for example, when traveling abroad. In the 1920s, women, who were normally

⁵² See Cole, "Feminism, Class, and Islam in Turn-of-the-Century Egypt," pp. 391, 393, 399, 402, and 404.

⁵³ See the editor's introduction to Hudā Sha'rāwī, *Harem Years: Memoirs of an Egyptian Feminist*, ed. and trans. Margot Badran (Virago: London, 1986), p. 7; also A. H. Hourani, "The Vanishing Veil: A Challenge to the Old Order," *UNESCO Courier* (January, 1956), p. 37.

⁵⁴ Graham-Brown, *Images of Women*, pp. 188-191, photos 17-21.

veiled, removed them during nationalist demonstrations (the exact reverse of what took place in Iran during the final years of the shah). Even some of the early feminists who gave up wearing the face veil, such as Hudā Sha'rāwī, continued for some time to keep the head covered. She was always depicted with a head scarf in her official portraits. In fact, this kind of headcovering is today what is in fact considered *hijāb* by many Muslims, including the so-called fundamentalists.⁵⁵

The transitional nature of the period of the 1920s, '30s, and '40s in Egypt with regard to unveiling is perhaps best represented by a photograph of the Wafd Women's Committee that appeared on the cover of the popular pictorial magazine *al-Muṣawwar* on March 13, 1925. Most of the women belong to either the upper class or professional middle class. Of the twenty-two women shown, four are wearing face veils, another five are barefaced but wear the *habara*, or head veil and body wrap, whereas all of the rest are in European attire and are wearing Western hats.⁵⁶ Unveiling in Egypt received important official sanction when in 1937, the Fatwa Committee of the al-Azhar, the premier institution of Sunnī Islamic higher learning, declared that the Ḥanafī legal school, which represented the majority rite in Egypt and the Levant was not opposed to unveiling. It further declared that the Mālikī school, which was the predominant rite in the Maghreb and had significant representation in Egypt, did not consider veiling a requirement. As Badran has astutely observed, this was merely a case of recognizing "what women themselves had already achieved and what the peasant majority had always enjoyed."⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Badran, *Feminism, Islam, and Nation*, pp. 23, 236-237, and 314-315, nn. 79-84. Some women did not even wait till they were abroad to remove the veil, but did so shortly after they boarded ships bound for Europe. See the colorful description of this shipboard metamorphosis in E. L. Butcher, *Things Seen in Egypt* (Seeley and Co.: London, 1910), p. 63. For pictures Sha'rāwī wearing the head scarf from a magazine of the 1930s and on a placard from the 1940s, see Graham-Brown, *Images of Women*, p. 227.

⁵⁶ The photo is reproduced in Graham-Brown, *Images of Women*, p. 226.

⁵⁷ Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation*, pp. 94-95.

The Modern Resurgence of Veiling: Hijāb Old and New

By the mid-twentieth century, *hijāb* was on the decline to such an extent among educated modern women in many Muslim countries that even as astute an observer of the region such as Albert Hourani, could write about “the vanishing veil.”⁵⁸ However, even as he wrote, there were Arab countries where complete veiling was still universal, such as Saudi Arabia, or was practiced by the majority of women, as in Morocco. Most married urban Moroccan women continued wearing the *lithām* face veil until the early 1970s, and in Saudi Arabia total veiling in public remains universal to this day by force of law. But at the same time that veiling was supposedly all but disappearing throughout the Arab world, another phenomenon was taking place, namelyreveiling in old and new forms.

The issue of *hijāb* versus *sufūr* (or *raf'* *al-hijāb*, “lifting of the veil,” as it was also referred to in feminist rhetoric) had never been entirely resolved even in the most outwardly westernized non-Arab and Arab Islamic countries, such as Turkey and Lebanon, and it could still evoke considerable emotion even in the mid-twentieth century. The American Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, for example, relates that during a visit to Lebanon in 1951, he witnessed a man beat, curse, and drive off his wife who had allowed her veil to slip. And then, the husband returned to beg Douglas’s pardon for the woman’s shameful behavior. In another telling anecdote, the anthropologist Daniel Lerner reports the remarks made to him by a liberated young Turkish college student at the University of Ankara. Commenting on women who still wore the veil, she is quoted as saying, “I’d like to tear it from their faces!”⁵⁹

Not only had the issue of veiling or not veiling remained an issue even in those countries where the battle seems to have been all but won by the proponents of *sufūr*, but there were powerful social forces current in the Islamic world that contributed to the revival of *hijāb* in various forms. These forces were both political and religious (which in any case have never been totally discrete categories in Muslim

⁵⁸ Hourani, “The Vanishing Veil,” pp. 35-37.

⁵⁹ Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (Free Press of Glencoe: New York, 1958), p. 198; *ibid.*, p. 197.

lands), and as the journalist Nesta Ramazani has insightfully observed, all of the present-day manifestations of veiling share one common thread; namely, “the need to reassert cultural identity.”⁶⁰

One important force contributing to veiling in one form or another has been the Islamist movements, both militant and non-militant. These movements, which are referred to in the West by a variety of designations (fundamentalists, revivalists, militants, neo-Sufis, and in French *intégristes*), include such groups as the Muslim Brotherhood (founded in Egypt, but now in many Arab countries), al-Jamā'a al-Islāmiyya (Egypt), Hamas (Palestine), Hizb Allah (Lebanon), al-Da'wa (Sudan), al-Nahda (Tunisia), the Front Islamique du Salut and al-Takfir wa 'l-Hijra (both in Algeria)—to name but a few. They represent an alternative to secularism on the one hand and institutional Islam on the other. Irrespective of their political activities, all of these groups advocate a return to a holistic Islamic way of life and to Islamic traditional values, which include *inter alia* a traditional code of modesty and gender differentiation. One of the primary external markers of the latter is *al-zayy al-Islāmī* or *al-zayy al-Shārī* (Islamic or Sharī'ī attire).

Hijāb in the context of Islamic attire can mean different things in different places and to different people. In its most widespread modern form, *hijāb* means modest attire that covers the trunk, limbs and hair, but not necessarily the face. This means a full-length loose gown, or a longsleeve loose shirt and a full-length skirt, or loose slacks with an overshirt extending below the waist, sometimes a long light overcoat, and a head scarf (called by a variety of names, such as *sabaniyya*, *qaṭīb*, and *maharama* in the Maghreb, *shāl* in Egypt, and *mandīl*, *khirqa*, *tarbī'a* in the Levant, and often simply *hijāb* everywhere in the Muslim world) or wimple (see fig. 10) (referred to in Egypt as *khimār* and *khimāra* and again often as *hijāb* everywhere). This form of *al-zayy al-Islāmī* and *hijāb* has become a sort of pan-Islamic uniform, in much the same way that blue jeans became an international uniform of modern youth. As the Turkish sociologist Nilüfer Göle has insightfully noted: “If the traditional way of covering oneself changes from one Muslim country to another in terms of the form of ‘folk’

⁶⁰ Nesta Ramazani, “The Veil—Piety or Protest?,” *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 7:2 (1983), p. 36.

dresses, the contemporary Islamist outfit is similar in all Muslim countries: it is through the symbolism of women's veiling that a commonality of identity and the Muslim community (*umma*) is reconstructed and reinvented at the transnational level.”⁶¹ In another parallel to blue jeans, *al-zayy al-Islāmī* and *hijāb* are in part a form of rebellion by young people against their “often liberal, pro-Western, middle-class” parents, or in a more political form, against secular, modernizing, but undemocratic governments. In addition to the factors of religiosity and generational and political rebellion, there is also the fashion factor. In one survey conducted in Egypt, forty percent of educated women interviewed responded that they wore *al-zayy al-Islāmī* and *hijāb* because it was the latest fashion (*akhīr mōda*).⁶²

Only rarely does the modern notion of veiling include the actual covering of the face, although full face veiling certainly does exist. For example, in Egypt a sac-like *niqāb*, with either holes or a rectangular cutout for the eyes, is worn by some women, as too is the *yashmaq*, the veil that covers the face below the eyes. However, these are the exception, not the rule.⁶³ Most of the interpreters of Islamism, however, understand Islamic attire to mean covering the entire body except for the face and hands.⁶⁴ As numerous observers have rightly

⁶¹ Nilüfer Gölé, *The Forbidden Modern: Civilization and Veiling* (University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, 1996), p. 5.

⁶² The quote is from A. Rugh, *Reveal and Conceal: Dress in Contemporary Egypt* (Syracuse University Press: Syracuse, 1986), p. 154; and the statistic is from *ibid.*, p. 149. For an extended inquiry into the reasons given by educated young women for the new *hijāb*, see Azza Mohamed Ahmed Sallam, “The Return to the Veil Among Undergraduate Females at Minya University, Egypt,” (Ph. D. diss., Purdue University, 1980). For the protest factor, as well as socio-economic ones, see Arlene Elowe Macleod, *Accomodating Protest: Working Women, the New Veiling, and Change in Cairo* (Columbia University Press: New York, 1991); and also Yedida K. Stillman, “Costume as Cultural Statement: The Esthetics, Economics, and Politics of Islamic Dress,” in *The Jews of Medieval Islam: Community, Society, and Identity*, ed. Daniel Frank (Brill: Leiden, 1995), p. 128.

⁶³ See Rugh, *Reveal and Conceal*, p. 150; John Alden Williams, “A Return to the Veil in Egypt,” *Middle East Review* 11 (1979), p. 50; and Fadwa El-Guindi, “Veiling Infatih with Muslim Ethic: Egypt’s Contemporary Islamic Movement,” *Social Problems* 28 (1981), p. 475. El-Guindi sees the wearing of the *niqāb* as the third and final gradation of feminine Islamic attire.

⁶⁴ See Barbara F. Stowasser, “Women’s issue in Modern Islamic Thought,” in *Arab Women: Old Boundaries, New Frontiers*, ed. Judith E. Tucker (Indiana University Press: Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1993), p. 17 *et passim*; also Ramazani, “The Veil—Piety or Protest?,” p. 35.

pointed out, this kind of *hijāb* and the general phenomenon of *al-zayy al-Islāmī* (or *al-zayy al-Shar‘ī*) are new fashions, not traditional, but neo-traditionalist, incorporating only certain elements of older styles.⁶⁵

With the exception of Saudi Arabia and other parts of the Arabian Peninsula, as well as in the non-Arab Islamic states of Iran and Afghanistan the majority of women do not veil in either the old or new way—or even wear *al-zayy al-Islāmī* for that matter. On the other hand, in most Muslim countries the overwhelming majority of women when going out in public do wear modest attire, be it Western, traditional, or neo-Islamic. There is no reason to believe, as John Alden Williams seems to be hinting at, that the new *hijāb* will disappear anytime soon, but whether it will in fact become a universal form of veiling for Muslim women in the way that traditional, pre-modern *hijāb* had been remains to be seen.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ See, for example, Rugh, *Reveal and Conceal*, p. 156; El-Guindī, “Veiling Infithah with Muslim Ethic,” p. 475: “[I]t is a simplification and a fallacy to consider the veiling of *al-taddayun* of the contemporary Islamic movement as a return to ‘the veil’.... That veil was discarded by Egyptian feminists as far back as 1923.”; Michèle Kasriel, “Le vêtement comme langage,” in *Femmes du Maghreb au Present* (Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique: Paris, 1990), p. 179: “Le vêtement n'est plus tradition mais traditionalisation.”; Geadah, *Femmes voilées: intégrismes démasqués*, p. 71: “Ce qu'on appelle maintenant le voile islamique, ou encore le *hidjab*, désigne en fait une nouvelle tenue vestimentaire, prônée par le mouvement intégriste au nom de l'Islam.”; and Graham-Brown, *Images of Women*, p. 250: “In a sense, this manner of dress is an ‘invention’ of tradition. It is often presented as a return to ‘traditional’ dress, as an expression of religious piety and cultural continuity. Yet it is not actually the same as any past style of veiling, headcovering or dress.”

⁶⁶ Williams, “A Return to the Veil in Egypt,” p. 54.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MODERN TIMES

Today's modern world dress is essentially Euro-American fashion, from formal attire, to casual wear, to military uniforms. With the exception of Saudi Arabia and a number of Gulf States, where traditional-attire civilian dress is still normally traditional, in most Arab countries traditional attire remains the everyday dress of only certain segments of the population, mainly the poor and the lower middle class and is worn by the rest of the population—if at all—only for public or private ceremonial occasions. Even the conservative Islamic dress, or so-called *al-zayy al-Islāmī*, *al-zayy al-Sharītī*, and when referring to the individual garments themselves *azyā' Sharīyya* (Islamic attire, clothing and garments in accord with Muslim law,), is—as already noted in the preceding chapter, a modern, neo-traditionalist confection which with the exception of the head veil (and occasionally the face veil as well) usually includes modest forms of western clothes.

It would not be an exaggeration to say categorically that beginning approximately two centuries ago contact with the West began to make its impact on the traditional Islamic vestimentary system. This impact was gradual, indeed almost imperceptible at first and was limited to very small, specific circles of the Muslim elite and well-to-do members of the non-Muslim communities. As with changes in veiling, this evolutionary process among Muslims seems to have begun in non-Arab Turkey, particularly in Istanbul, where it was apparent by the 1830s.¹ However, with the ever-increasing Western economic, political, and cultural penetration into the Arab and wider Islamic world in the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, the traditional vestimentary system under-

¹ Nancy Micklewright, "Women's Dress in 19th Century Istanbul: Mirror of a Changing Society," (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1986), pp. 144-150; see also Jennifer Scarce, *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East* (Unwin Hyman: London and Sidney, 1987), pp. 66-80.

went the most profound and widespread changes than at any time since the initial fusion of Arabian, Hellenistic Mediterranean, and Iranian-Central Asian modes. The most fundamental aspect of this change was the progressive abandoning of traditional, loose-flowing garments which has been taking place in favor of Western tailored clothes.

The first group in the Arab East who began in significant numbers to abandon traditional attire were the westernized Christian and Jewish protégés of the foreign powers. The civil emancipation of non-Muslims during the Tanzimat reform period and the expansion of Christian missionary schools, the Alliance Israélite schools for Jews, and European businesses accelerated the process. As early as the first half of the nineteenth century, there were individuals such as Asaad Kayat (As'ad al-Khayyāt), a Greek Orthodox Christian with Protestant tendencies, in Beirut who adopted western attire. His wife was one of the first Lebanese women to entertain in mixed company unveiled, and her example was immediately followed by other Christian women in the Kayat's social circle, a fact that made Kayat very proud.² Members of other Christian *millets*, such as the Armenians in the port cities of Turkey and the Levant, were in the vanguard of those who began wearing European or modified European dress.³

There already were resident minorities, such as the Sephardi merchant class of certain coastal towns of Morocco, the Livornese Jews of Tunisia, and the frances of Syria, who had permission at various times and in various circumstances to wear European attire as far back as the eighteenth century (see Chapter Five). But these

² See A. Y. Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon, With the Life and Travels of Asaad Y. Kayat* (Madden & Co.: London, 1847), p. 281; also Kamal S. Salibi, "The Two Worlds of Assaad Y. Kayat," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire* II, eds. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (Holmes and Meier: New York and London, 1982), pp. 135-157.

³ See Roderic H. Davison, "The *Millets* as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire* II, eds. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (Holmes and Meier: New York and London, 1982), pp. 321-322; and for more observations on the role of *dhimmīs* as vectors of change, see Charles Issawi, "The Transformation of the Economic Position of the *Millets* in the Nineteenth Century, in *ibid.*, pp. 261-286. With respect to the non-Muslims in the avant garde of westernizing fashions, see Micklewright, "Women's Dress in 19th Century Istanbul," pp. 147-149.

were afterall groups whose ancestors had come into the Arab world only in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and had maintained a somewhat separate identity from their indigenous coreligionists as well as permanent ties with their brethren in Europe. The Italian Jewish poet and adventurer, Samuel Romanelli, describes his astonishment upon seeing a group of Jews in Mogador (Essouira), Morocco, “dressed in our [i.e., European] fashion.” The group included Gibraltarans, Livornese and Sephardi Moroccans. He also observed haughtily that “the faces of most of them revealed that which their dress concealed, for their suntanned faces testified that they were Maghrebis.”⁴ In many instances, the European dress of these minorities became a fossilized variant of European clothing of two or three centuries earlier and became the distinguishing clothing in the Islamic legal sense of *ghiyār* (see Chapter Five).

The abandoning of traditional, loose-flowing garments began taking place during the nineteenth century in many parts of the Arab and Islamic lands in favor of Western tailored clothes. The transition was slow at first and did not take place in every place and among all groups at the same time, and indeed the process continues even now in the late twentieth century. In Egypt during the second half of the nineteenth century, members of the ruling élite began adopting elements of European fashion. The Egyptian khedives, were the first among the ruling élite in the Arab world to adopt Western dress. They in fact were following the lead of the Ottoman Sultan Maḥmūd II (ruled 1808-1839/1223-1255), who had himself adopted Western-style attire for both his military dress uniforms and his non-military clothing early on in his reign.⁵ Both Maḥmūd II in Istanbul and Muḥammad ‘Alī (ruled 1805-1848/-1220-1264) in Cairo established military academies with European officers as the instructors. Maḥmūd in fact issued a code of regulations for his modernized army corps (called the *Nizām-i Jadīd* or the troops of “the New Order”) in 1826.

⁴ Samuel Romanelli, *Travail in an Arab Land*, trans. Yedida K. Stillman and Norman A. Stillman (University of Alabama Press: Tuscaloosa and London, 1989), p. 124.

⁵ Scarce, *Women’s Costume of the Near and Middle East*, pp. 66-67. Not only did Maḥmūd himself wear Western dress, but he introduced new uniforms for his troops that were an amalgam of European and Turkish styles. See T. Majda, “Libās iv: Turkey,” *EP* V, p. 752.

This code included a regulation that the troops should be uniformed in European-style jackets and trousers. An American observer noted just a few years later:

The dress of the modern Turkish soldier has partaken of the general change which has occurred within the last ten years, and whatever it may have lost in picturesque effect, it certainly gained in effectiveness for military duty. Instead of loose, slipshod slippers, he now wears stout serviceable shoes securely fastened by leather strings. The huge balloon chaksheers, which impeded his every movement have give place to woolen trowsers, still rather ample about the nether man, but not so large as to prevent him from making a rapid charge or from running away. The glittering and flowing jubbee and bayneesh are well exchanged for a smart tight-bodied blue jacket, closely hooded in front, and allowing perfect freedom to the limbs; while the turban, infinitely varied in shape and colour, often ragged, and frequently dirty, suggesting the idea of walking toadstools, has forever disappeared. In its place the soldier sports a tidy red cap, with a blue tassel gracefully depending from its crown. With the exception of the cap, and the still lingering amplitude of the trowsers, the Turkish soldier could scarcely be distinguished from the regulars of any European nation.⁶

The loose trousers mentioned by DeKay were described by the imperial court historian Ahmet Lütfî, as being “tight-fitting serge breeches,” which indeed they did become later on.⁷

The examples of Mahmûd II and Muhammed ‘Alî were followed by Hüseyin Bey and Ahmed Bey (ruled respectively 1834-1835/1250-1252 and 1837-1855/1252-1271), the modernizing rulers of Tunisia. The former adopted the so-called *Nîzâmî* uniforms (basically French frock coats with gold braid epaulettes and cuffs, straight trousers, as well as belts, sashes, and medals) of the Ottoman officer corps and court military dress, and the latter established a military academy

⁶ James E. De Kay, *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832* (J. & J. Harper: New York, 1833), p. 225, quoted in Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (McGill University Press: Montreal, 1964), p. 123. See also, Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford University Press: London, New York, and Toronto, 1961), pp. 98-100. The *Nîzâm-i Jadid* corps had actually been founded by Mahîd’s predecessor Salîm III, who also tried to introduce European-style uniforms. The corps, which at that time engendered a great public backlash, was dissolved just before he was deposed in 1807.

⁷ Cited by Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, p. 98.

with European instructors and further extended the change in dress to army regulars, whose uniform consisted of a tightfitting, waist-length European jacket and trousers. All of the portraits of the Tunisian Beys and their courtiers from this time depict them in *Nizāmī* dress uniforms. The enlisted men did not adapt well immediately to the new European-style uniforms as their officer did. These soldiers were recruited from the peasantry and urban lower classes, and they found the clothing constricting and uncomfortable. They would try to roll up the pants to above their knees like traditional pantaloons. They were also taunted with epithets such as *rūmī* (European) and *bū sirwāl* (wearer of trousers) by the populace—which certainly did not facilitate their easy adaption to the new style.⁸ Even at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, straight-legged European-style pants were the object of detestation in Syria, where they were referred to as *bantālūn*, because they were associated with the Ottoman military and its hateful conscription of its hapless Arab subjects of the Empire. Thus, wearing *bantālūn* was considered humiliating and degrading.⁹

In addition to the military and high officialdom as an avant garde of westernized attire within the Muslim community, a new élite of European-educated Arab students who began to make up a nascent modern professional class was also in the forefront of adopting Western-style dress. In addition to his military reforms, Muḥammad ‘Alī also sent Egyptian students first to Italy in 1809 and to Paris in 1827, and the Ottoman Sultan sent a large number of students to study in various European countries in 1827. They were followed by hundreds of other students in the following years. Upon their return to their native countries, these students not only often adopted Western or modified Western attire, but also became agents for the further westernizing of dress among members of their class. Eventually, Western

⁸ See L. Carl Brown, *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey, 1837-1855* (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1974), pp. 264-265; 270-276; and the illustrations on the frontispiece and pp. 221, 228, 233, and 275.

⁹ Gerd Winkelhane, “Le costume damascène à la fin de la période ottomane: tradition et occidentalisation,” in *Mémoire de soie: costumes et parures de Palestine et de Jordanie: Catalogue de la collection Widad Kamel Kawar présentée à l’Institut du Monde Arabe* (Institut du Monde Arabe: Paris, 1988), p.134.

clothing came to symbolize modern, literate men throughout the Arab and the wider Islamic world.¹⁰

In general, it was Muslim men who abandoned traditional attire more rapidly than Muslim women. This was due, on the one hand to the fact just discussed above that the first mandatory changes took place in the military and amongst high officialdom which were (and on the whole remain) exclusively male preserves, and on the other hand to Islamic notions of modesty, one consequence of which was the Muslim male's greater physical and social mobility. The students (all males) sent to study at European universities are a case in point. But this upper class phenomenon did not meet with the approval of many members of the conservative religious élite or the lower classes. The modernizers were referred disparagingly as "westernizers" (Ar. *mutafarnajūn*—literally "wouldbe Franks") in the Arab East, *rūmīyyūn* (literally—"Byzantines") in the Maghreb, and "westernized gentry" (Turk. *alafrangā čelebileri*). Throughout the nineteenth century they remained a small minority. However, after the First World War the change became rapid.¹¹ Today in the Levant, the classic '*abāya*', a square sleeveless coat usually worn as a shoulder mantle (see Pl. 64), is rarely worn any more outside of Arabia (where it is called *bisht* or *mishlah*), among Bedouin in many parts of the Levant, by men for festive occasions in Israel, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq, as well as by Shi'ite clerics in Lebanon and Iraq. Simple tunics such as the Moroccan *fawqiyya* (see fig. 8), *gandūra*, and *farajīyya* (see fig. 7), the Tunisian *jubba*, the Syro-Palestinian *jubba* and the robe-like *qumbāz* (see Pl. 65) are worn mainly by older, more traditional men or lower class men out-of-doors, or by many men who normally wear Western clothing in public as a festive garment or as lounging wear at home.¹²

¹⁰ See Bernard Lewis, *The Shaping of the Modern Middle East* (Oxford University Press: New York and Oxford, 1994, p. 36).

¹¹ See for example R. Tresse, "L'évolution du costume des citadins syrolibanais depuis un siècle," *La Géographie* 70 (1938), pp. 1-16 and 76-82; *idem*, "L'évolution du costume des citadines en Syrie depuis le XIX^e siècle" *La Géographie*, 71-72 (1939), pp. 257-71 and 29-40.

¹² For the '*abāya/bisht/mishlah*', see Yedida K. Stillman, *Palestinian Costume and Jewelry* (University of New Mexico Press: Albuquerque, 1979), pp. 12-14 and Fig. 2; Heather Colyer Ross, *The Art of Arabian Costume: A Saudi Arabian Profile* (Arabesque: Fribourg, Switzerland, 1981), p. 41; and Topham, *Traditional Crafts of Saudi Arabia*, p. 117, Pl. 3.

Muslim women made the transition to Western dress very gradually. Once again, the process began in non-Arab Turkey and was already visible by the 1830s.¹³ In the Arab world, interestingly enough, the evolution of Muslim women's attire seems to have begun in the second half of the nineteenth with rather minor items such as footwear. The wife of Khedive Ismā'il (ruled 1863-1879/1279-1297), who himself wore European frock coats and trousers, was observed in the 1860s by Emmeline Lott, the English governess of the Khedive's son Ibrāhīm, at an 'Id al-Kabīr celebration wearing regal traditional garb, but with high-heeled satin shoes rather than the traditional flat-soled *khuff* or the slipper-like *babūj*. Lott reports that another Muslim whom she visited at home wore "white cotton stockings and patent leather Parisian shoes," while otherwise dressed in traditional attire. That shoes and stockings were among the earliest changes in female attire in the Arab world may be due to the fact that footwear, like underwear, were, as noted in Chapter Three, "unmentionables" in Arab society and therefore were not likely to be the subject of open discussion or debate, neither did they have the social or religious importance of the rest of traditional attire, particularly headgear, veils, and other modesty garments. Today women in many Arab countries wear *babūj* (pl. *babāwīj*), which are called most often *bulgha* (pl. *balāghī*) in the Maghreb, at home as a house slipper and the more ornate, often embroidered ones such as the Maghrebi *rihiyyāt* and *sharbīl* for festive occasions (see Pl. 66). Traditional clogs, or *qabqāb* (pl. *qabāqīb*), are still worn throughout the Arab world by those women who frequent the bathhouse and by some women of the towns in Saudi Arabia.¹⁴

¹³ Micklewright, "Women's Dress in 19th Century Istanbul," pp. 149-157; Scarce, *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East*, pp. 66-71, 78, and 81-85.

¹⁴ Emmeline Lott, *The Governess in Egypt; Harem Life in Egypt and Constantinople* II (R. Bentley: London, 1865), pp. 6-8 and *ibid.* I, pp. 68-69. For a photo-portrait of Khedive Ibrāhīm in European attire, see Sayyida Salme and Emily Ruete, *An Arabian Princess Between Two Worlds: Memoirs, Letters Home, Sequels to the Memoirs, Syrian Customs and Usages*, ed. E. van Donzel (E. J. Brill: Leiden, New York, and Köln, 1993), p. 38, Illus. XXI. For examples of a fine inlaid set of Syrian *qabqāb* and many examples of gold-embroidered slippers in a wide variety of colors, see A. Pignol et al., *Costumes et Parure dans le monde arabe* (Institut du Monde Arabe: Paris, 1987), pp. 40-41; also Jean Besancenot, *Costumes du Maroc* repr. (Al Kalam Éditions-Diffusion: Rabat, 1988), p.193, Pl. D, nos. 8-10. For Saudi women's clogs, see Ross, *The Art*

It was not long after the westernizing innovations in footwear that women of the Khedival family, followed presumably by other members of Egypt's female élite began to adopt European-style dresses. Armenian and Greek women in cosmopolitan Alexandria were already seen going about in public in European dresses with crinolines in the early 1860s. In her memoirs, Lott also mentions her own crinoline was the object of great curiosity among ladies in an Egyptian home.¹⁵ Princess Zaynab, Khedive Ismā'il's young daughter is described by her governess in 1871 as being "magnificently dressed in black velvet, made in the latest Parisian fashion." And a portrait photograph taken that same year shows the princess in a frilled and lacy, light-colored, European-style dress with matching high-heeled shoes.¹⁶

Even as upperclass Muslim women in those countries where Western influences were strongest, such as Egypt, Lebanon, Tunisia, and Algeria (and non-Arab Turkey) were making the transition to European-style dresses, it remained absolutely *de rigueur* for them to go outside fully shrouded in face veils and body wraps, as is still the strict rule in Saudi Arabia.¹⁷ As noted in Chapter Seven, most Christian and Jewish women abandoned the veil a full generation or more before their Muslim counterparts. One factor which facilitated their abandoning the veil so much earlier was that the segregation of women in the non-Muslim communities was never as strict as it was among Muslims, nor was the non-Muslims' style of veiling quite as total even in the preceding centuries.¹⁸ By the end of the 19th century, the "to

of Arabian Costume, p. 63, bottom photograph; and for simple Moroccan wooden clogs, see Besancenot, *Costumes du Maroc*, p. 193, Pl. D, no. 11.

¹⁵ Lott, *The Governess in Egypt* I, p.97.

¹⁶ Ellen Chennells, *Recollections of an Egyptian Princess, by her English Governess; being a Record of Five Years' Residence in the Court of Ismael Pasha, Khédive* new ed. (Edinburgh and London, 1893), p. 27; For the photograph of the princess's frilly dress, see Scarce, *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East*, p. 130, Pl. 92. Commenting on Chennells's description, Scarce, *ibid.*, p. 131, notes: Apart from the excess of jewellery [in the complete description] she is clearly dressed in the manner of any contemporary affluent Western European child."

¹⁷ For a wide variety of contemporary Saudi face veils, see Ross, *The Art of Arabian Costume*, pp. 46-47 and 50; and also John Topham et al., *Traditional Crafts of Saudi Arabia* (Stacey International: London, 1982), pp. 109-111, Pl. 146-150.

¹⁸ See Yedida K. Stillman, "The Costume of the Jewish Woman in Morocco," in *Studies in Jewish Folklore*, ed. F. Talmage (Association for Jewish Studies: Cam-

veil or not to veil" controversy had become a burning issue in Egypt—certainly the most progressive Arab country of the time—with male modernists such as Qāsim Amīn calling for the removal of the face veil in his books *Tahrīr al-Mar'a* (Woman's Liberation) and *al-Mar'a al-Jadīda* (The New Woman).¹⁹ Muslim women were deeply divided over this issue as can be seen from the discussions in the newly emerging women's press of this period. It was only in the early 1920s that Egyptian feminists led by Hudā Sha'arāwī began removing their veils. Their example was followed by most women of the upper and professional middle class over the next two decades, with only the conservative lower middle class holding out against the tide.²⁰

Despite the westernization of female attire during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a process that rapidly gained momentum after the First World War, there were many countries in the Arab world where traditional clothing remained the norm, albeit with innovations influenced directly or indirectly by European styles, production materials and techniques. In Palestine, for example, both Christian and Muslim women continued to wear their traditional folk costumes, but with new colors because of the increasing use of European aniline dyes and new embroidery patterns learned from foreign samplers, pamphlets and magazines. The basic and often heavily

bridge, Mass. 1980), pp. 344–345; *eadem*, "Attitudes Towards Women in Near Eastern Society," in *Studies in Judaism and Islam Presented to Shelomo Dov Goitein*, eds. Shelomo Morag, Issachar Ben-Ami, and Norman A. Stillman (Magnes Press: Jerusalem, 1981), pp. 347–348; and also *eadem*, "The Arab Folk Costume of Palestine," *El Palacio* 83:4 (Winter 1977), p. 24.

¹⁹ Qāsim Amīn, *Tahrīr al-Mar'a* (Maktabat al-Taraqqī: Cairo, 1899) and numerous later editions); English translation: *The Liberation of Women: A Document in the History of Egyptian Feminism* (American University in Cairo Press: Cairo, 1992); *idem*, *al-Mar'a al-Jadīda* (n.p.: Cairo, 1900 and numerous later editions); English translation in Mary Flounders Arnett, "Qasim Amin and the Beginnings of the Feminist Movement in Egypt," (Ph. D. diss. Dropsie College, 1965).

²⁰ For a thorough survey of the various stances in the Egyptian women's press, see Beth Baron, "Unveiling in Early Twentieth Century Egypt: Practical and Symbolic Considerations," *Middle Eastern Studies* 25 (1989), pp. 370–386; and *eadem*, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 1994), pp. 34, 62, 76 *et passim*. For Sha'arāwī's famous dramatic gesture of removing her veil in public, see the editor's introduction to Hudā Sha'rāwī, *Harem Years: Memoirs of an Egyptian Feminist*, ed. Margot Badran (Virago: London, 1986), p. 7; also A. H. Hourani, "The Vanishing Veil: A Challenge to the Old Order," *UNESCO Courier* (January, 1956), p. 37.

embroidered Palestinian dress, the *thawb* (see fig. 11) began to include foreign patterns as of the late nineteenth century, and foreign floral designs in particular exerted a very strong influence everywhere in Palestine during the late 1930s and early 1940s. Also, the totally European innovation of pockets were added to women's bolero jackets (Ar., *taqṣīra* or *salṭa*) sometime during the 1930s (see Pl. 67).²¹ In Morocco, some of the innovations in women's fashion were actually neo-traditional and only indirectly influenced from Europe. During the Protectorate period (1913-1956), more and more women gave up the constricting white *izār* and *hayk* or the black *milḥafa* body wraps for a tailored version (see Pl. 57 and 58) of the male's hooded *jallāba* (see Pl. 68). The new garment was frequently of lightweight gaberdine and came in a wide variety of non-traditional colors (made possible by European aniline dyes) and in the 1970s in cosmopolitan Rabat and Casablanca in foreign patterns such as colorful paisley Italian or French silk or artificial textiles. The new feminine *jallāba* was worn with the pointed capuche-style hood (Ar. *qabb*, pl. *qubūb* and *qabāb*) covering the head and a *lithām*, or veil, covering the face from just below the eyes. In the Andalusian north of the country, it was worn as a triangular bandana tied outside and around the hood, whereas in the central and southern parts it was usually worn as a rectangle tied under the hood. Even with the widespread decline in the use of the face veil during the 1980s and 1990s, the *jallāba* is still the preferred outdoor covering for women, almost all of whom wear European clothing beneath. With the disappearance of the *lithām*, the hood is no longer worn over the head and becomes merely a vestigial element or is entirely missing. However a *sabaniyya* head scarf, often called *fūlār* (arabized Fr. *foulard*), is still worn by the majority of women who have abandoned the *lithām*, but still wear the *jallāba*. The modern *al-zayy al-Islāmī* is also seen in contemporary Morocco, but far less commonly than the *jallāba*.²²

²¹ See Yedida K. Stillman, *Palestinian Costume and Jewelry* (University of New Mexico Press: Albuquerque, 1979), pp. 5, 27, 68, 72, 85, 86, *et passim*. For a brief discussion of the present state of Palestinian costume today, see Jehan Rajab, *Palestinian Costume* (Kegan Paul International: London and New York, 1989), pp. 104-108.

²² For examples of a woman in the white *hāṣik* or *izār*, and in a black *milḥafa* (in Berber, *tamilḥaf*) see Jean Besancenot, *Costumes du Maroc*, Planches 6-7; for different

The westernization of men's clothing which was well underway in certain élite circles of the Arab world in the nineteenth century also spread rapidly after the First World War. In addition to court circles, the military, and the civil service, members of the well-to-do bourgeoisie, professionals and people with a modern higher education, all began to adopt Western clothing except in such bastions of tradition as Arabia and Morocco.

One aspect of the male wardrobe that resisted change even where the transition to Western attire became more or less complete was the headgear. In Palestine, Jordan, Syria, and Iraq many men continued to wear the traditional headcloth, called by various names such as *kāfiyya* or *hatṭa* in most Levantine countries, and *ghūṭra* and *shamāgh* (when chequered) in Arabia. It is still not uncommon to see men dressed in a Western suit, wearing a *tāqiyya*, a *tarbūsh*, or a *kāfiyya*. This is due to the traditional importance of covering the head and to the fact that the headcovering (originally the turban) was considered a badge of Islam (*sīmā al-Islām*). The *kāfiyya*, a large square headcloth of wool, silk, or a silk cotton mix and held in place by a circlet of heavy twisted black cord of silk thread ('*aqāl*), which was in the last century most commonly worn by Bedouin and peasants in many parts of the Middle East (see Pl. 69), has in recent years taken on a nationalist connotation comparable to that of the fez in Ottoman Turkey under the Young Turks. The chequered *kāfiyya* became in the second half of the twentieth century the badge of the Palestinian commandoes, and is the regular headdress of Yasir Arafat, who wears it with a special fold resembling the map of historical Palestine. It is also the headdress of choice for the men of the Hashemite royal family of Jordan for many ceremonial occasions. The modern day '*aqāl* is considerably thinner than the nineteenth and early twentieth century ones (see Pl. 69).²³

styles of draping, see *ibid.*, p. 186-188, Pls. A-B. For the woman's *jallāba* with *lithām*, see *ibid.*, p. 193, Pl. D, no. 7.

²³ See Yedida K. Stillman, *Palestinian Costume and Jewelry*, p. 16. For illustrated examples of the *kāfiyya*/*hatṭa*/*ghūṭra*/*shamāgh* with '*aqāl* in all their variety, see *ibid.*, p. 12, Fig. 1; Ross, *The Art of Arabian Costume*, pp. 39-40; Topham, *Traditional Crafts of Saudi Arabia*, p. 93. For another example of the older style of very thick '*aqāl* which was worn over the *kāfiyya* until early in this century, see Rajab, *Palestinian Costume*, p. 92, Pl. 65.

The traditional *'imāma* is now worn almost exclusively by members of the *'ulamā'* in the Middle East although in the Maghreb, and in particular in Morocco, it was still commonly worn into the nineteen seventies and 'eighties by men of the provincial towns and the lower class urban population who had adopted Western dress.

Outside the popular quarters of major cities, traditional costumes are still commonly worn, but they are losing ground rapidly in many places. Even among some Bedouin—particularly those in Israel, Palestine, and Jordan—European garments are gradually displacing traditional clothing.²⁴

The one area which has successfully maintained its traditional style of dress in all levels of society, as already noted several times in this chapter, is the Arabian Peninsula. However, even with these countries, the military and the foreign diplomatic corps normally wear Western uniforms or business suits, and sophisticated urban women wear the latest European fashions beneath their enveloping wraps (the most common being the black *'abā'a* or *'abāya*) and veils (primarily the *burqu'* and the *niqāb*—see fig. 9). However, even the use of the *'abāya* in conservative Saudi Arabia is a neo-traditionalism, since in past times the preferred outer wrap was the sheet-like blue, black, or striped *mulā'a* (called *milāya* in the Saudi dialect).²⁵

Traditional clothes are still worn by many people throughout the Arab world outside of the modern urban centers and also in ancient urban quarters, such as Fās al-Bālī, the oldest part of the medina of Fez, or the Khān al-Khalīlī in Cairo. Naturally, they are still worn as “folkloric” or “national” costumes for festive and ceremonial oc-

²⁴ See L. Stein, “Beduinen,” *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* (1962), pp. 41-2. Also, for examples of modernizing traditional bedouin attire, see Ziva Amir, “The Embroidered Costume of the Women of Tuba—Tradition and Modernization in a Bedouin Village,” *Edot: Studies in Ethnography* 1 (Israel Museum: Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 3-16. For the wide variety of costumes ranging from strictly traditional, to traditional and modern, and to completely modern, the circumstances under which they are worn, and by which ethnic, socioeconomic and age groups, in a Jordanian town, see Katharina Hackstein, “Costume et identité communautaire,” in *Mémoire de soie: Costumes et parures de Palestine et de Jordanie: Catalogue de la collection Widad Kamel Kāvar* (Institut du Monde Arabe: Paris, 1988), pp. 142-147.

²⁵ For examples of contemporary Saudi face veils, see n. 16 above. For an illustration of a Saudi woman's *'abāyas*, see Topham, *Traditional Crafts of Saudi Arabia*, pp. 102-103, Pls. 130 and 132. For the *milāya*, see Ross, *The Art of Arabian Costume*, pp. 50-51.

casions. Moroccan, Tunisian, and Libyan brides almost invariably wear traditional bridal outfits (called by a variety of names, such as *kiswa*, *kiswa al-kabīra*, *fanīq*, and *qamājja kabīra*) for at least part of the wedding festivities (see Pl. 70). So too do many Palestinian women. By the same token, white European bridal gowns are also worn for part of the time (and sometimes exclusively) by urban women in most Arab countries.²⁶ Traditional garments are still often worn by boys for their circumcision in many Arab countries. And the king of Morocco, who normally wears Western clothing (usually French), dons a white *jallāba* and *silham* (cloak) and a white *tahnīk* turban (see Chapter Two) or a red *tarbūsh* on religious occasions when he wishes to emphasize his role as Commander of the Faithful in his country. He also frequently, although not always, wears *jallāba* and *tarbūsh* when receiving foreign delegations. Of course, all Muslims, including Arabs, put on the garments of *ihrām* when making the pilgrimage to Mecca (see Pl. 1).

The adoption by so-called fundamentalist males of a masculine form of *al-zayy al- Islāmī* is much less consistent than among females. In some places, their neo-traditionalist outfit merely consists of a loose white shirt (*qamīṣ* or *qamīja*), baggy pants (*sirwāl* or *čaqshīr*), a skullcap (*tāqiyā*) and sandals. Sometimes it consists of a local tunic such as the *jallabīyya* in Egypt or a *jubba*, *farajīyya*, *tashāmir* or *čāmir* (see fig. 8b) in North Africa. However, because of the suspicion and outright hostility of many regimes towards the Islamist movements which are viewed as politically dangerous, many fundamentalists avoid an easily identifiable uniform. The one common feature among these men throughout the Arab and wider Muslim world is not any particular item of clothing, but beards in various styles.

Any sort of country-by-country survey of the traditional garments still worn—or worn until recently—in the Arab world would be outside

²⁶ For Moroccan urban bridal costumes, see Besancenot, *Costumes du Maroc*, Pl. 10-12; Muhammad 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abbūd, "al-Fanīq," *Cahiers des Arts et Traditions Populaires* 4 (Institut d'Archéologie et d'Arts: Tunis, 1971), p. 9 of Arabic section, Pl. 1. For Tunisian costumes, see Samira Sethom, "La confection du costume féminin d'Hammamet," *ibid.* 1 (1968), pp. 107-109, Figs. 2-6; "La tunique de mariage en Tunisie," *ibid.* 3 (1969), pp. 12-19, Figs. 4-9; and Pignol, *Costume et parure dans le monde arabe*, pp. 44 and 59. For Libya, see Abdelkafi, *Weddings in Tripolitania*, trans. C. P. Bradburne (Government Press: Tripoli, n.d.), Pls. between pp. 14-15 and 94-95 for entire outfits, and *passim* for individual items.

the scope of this chapter. Western travelers to the Middle East and North Africa over the past two-and-a-half centuries have provided lengthy and detailed descriptions of native costumes. In addition to these, there have appeared in recent years a considerable and ever-growing number of scholarly monographs and articles on various aspects of Middle Eastern and Maghrebi costume. This literature will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER NINE

THE STUDY OF ARAB CLOTHING: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL EPILOGUE

Although the reader will find a full conspectus of the secondary literature (together of course with references to the scattered and highly diverse primary sources) on Arab and Islamic attire and costume history throughout the notes of the preceding chapters of this book and in the Bibliography at the end of the book, I believe that it is useful to review here in this final chapter some of the primary scholarly work that has been done up till now and thereby offer a review of the present state of Arab dress studies. This chapter will highlight the most significant published research done till now, although it makes no pretense of completeness.

The Early Pioneer Studies

The pioneer work on Arab costume history is, not surprisingly, a work of philology, the first fruits of one of the founding fathers of European Orientalism, the Dutch scholar, Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy (1820-1883). Dozy's prize-winning composition, written at the tender age of twenty-one, attempted to sort out the references to Arab clothing in both Arabic literary and European sources (the latter primarily the works of travelers). The work was published in 1845 as *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*. It was not exactly a dictionary, nor an encyclopedia in the modern sense, but an alphabetically-arranged collection of 275 entries that range from a single brief sentence, giving a one-word definition of the item or merely saying it was synonymous with some other Arabic term, to a lengthy discussion of a dozen pages or more. The majority of entries—even the lengthy ones—consist of the briefest of definitions, but there are often rich, extensive quotations from the texts (frequently given only in Arabic) that mention these items. One problem, however, that fre-

quently confronts anyone who wishes to check many of the literary references cited by Dozy is that most of the sources quoted or referred to by him were in his day available only in manuscript. On the other hand, many texts that were not available then, are available now. In his post-Classical Arabic dictionary, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols. (1881 and later editions), Dozy added several vestimentary terms that were not in his original clothing dictionary. For lack of anything better, Dozy's *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* has remained the standard reference work for over a century and a half. Though antiquated, it remains valuable. Dozy made numerous additions and corrections to his personal copy of the dictionary, but these were never published. This copy, with Dozy's handwritten additions, is available to researchers in the Oriental Seminar Room of the University of Leiden in Holland. An encyclopedic dictionary to finally replace Dozy's work is currently being prepared by the present author. (The editor intends to bring out this dictionary which runs about 1500 pages in its draft form in a few years.)

Not only did Dozy's *Dictionnaire* remain the standard reference work, but for a long time thereafter it remained the sole monographic work covering the entire Arab world and all historical periods. Until relatively recently, most studies on Arab clothing primarily took the form of short articles. The most important of these published nine decades after Dozy pioneering work was Reuben Levy's "Notes on Costume from Arabic Sources," which supplemented Dozy literary references with information contained in texts not available to Reinhart Dozy when he wrote his dictionary of Arab costume. Unlike Dozy, Levy limited his study to the medieval Middle East from the time of the Prophet to that of the Mamluks, excluding both the Islamic West (Spain and the Maghreb), a specialty of Dozy's, and the early modern and modern Arab world. Levy also limited his survey primarily to urban attire because it offered "greater variety and also because the references available are more numerous." Levy tried to give his study more sociohistorical context and divided his survey between "the costume of the private individual and that of the official."

Another important early historical study of an entire category of clothing in article form was Ilse Lichtenstädter's "The Distinctive Dress of Non-Muslims" (1943). This essay surveyed mainly Arabic

literary references to the on-again, off-again, imposition and enforcement of the laws of differentiation, or *ghiyār* (see Chapter Five above) in medieval Islam. There have also been articles which concentrate on a single type of garment, as for instance Emile Marmorstein's work "The Veil in Judaism and Islam" (1954), or Franz Rosenthal's essay "A Note on the *Mandil*" (1971). Rosenthal's work is a particularly good example of how best to exploit the limited sources available for a historical study. He first presents a detailed survey of the *mandil*, or handkerchief, as it appears in art and literature, and from this derives enough information to consider the material, color, decoration, size, place of manufacture and price of the *mandil* as well as its uses, both real and figurative. In the course of his article, Rosenthal demonstrates the contemporary significance of the *mandil*, a costume element hitherto completely overlooked by other writers. A recent article by Patricia Baker, published in *Costume* 1991, also concentrates on a single type of garment, in this case honorific vestments. Her article is a concise, detailed, and informative examination of the contemporary textual evidence and surviving garments associated with the system of honorific gifts of garments, or *khil'a*.

The only attempt at a broad survey of costume for the entire Arabic-speaking world covering all historical periods is Y.K. Stillman's article "Libās. i-ii: The Central and Eastern Arab Lands, ii. The Muslim West," in *EP*² (1986), which contains the most extensive references to both the primary and secondary literature available prior to the writing of this book. Another extensive survey, which though not devoted specifically to costume contains considerable information on clothing and a wealth of ancillary data, is R. B. Serjeant's *Islamic Textiles: Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest* (1972).

The Jāhilī Period and Early Islam

There are almost no specific costume studies, either monograph-length or in article form, for the earliest period of Islamic history, that is, for the time of the Prophet, the Rāshidūn, and the Umayyads. The major primary sources are old Arabic poetry and the *hadīth* collections. References to clothing are relatively easy to find even outside those chapters dedicated specifically to attire in the latter with the aid

of Wensinck's *Concordances et indices de la tradition musulmane*, 7 vols. (1936-1967). Tracking down names of specific garments in early poetry is more difficult. The great concordance to Jāhilī and early Islamic Arabic poetry begun many years ago at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem is still in index card form, but is open to researchers. Some details on clothing can be gleaned from works on the pre-Islamic Arabs, as for example F. Altheim and R. Stiel, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, vol. 2 (1965), which makes use of archaeological and art historical evidence.

The Great Caliphates

In contrast to the paucity of specific costume studies, there exists a considerable body of literature on textiles that have survived from the Umayyad and 'Abbasid periods. Because the study of textiles constitutes a discipline unto itself, and because of the constraints of space, it was decided not to include any extended treatment of the subject in this survey. However, since many of these textiles are in actuality remnants of garments (often the sturdier decorated borders, collars, and chest pieces), these are of direct interest to costume historians, and a few comments and bibliographical notes are required. Many of these textiles come from Egypt and show a direct continuity from pre-Islamic Coptic weaving. The most up-to-date bibliographies for these numerous early textile studies may be found in M. A. Marzouk, *History of the Textile Industry in Alexandria* (1955), Serjeant (1972), and Alisa Baginski and Amalia Tidhar, *Textiles from Egypt, 4th-13th Centuries C.E.* (1980), the latter being a catalogue of an exhibition at the L.A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art in Jerusalem. In addition to the studies of Coptic and other early Islamic textiles, there is a great deal of literature on early *tirāz* fabrics (that is, textiles with embroidered inscriptions), many of which were also parts of garments. Some of the major works with important bibliography for further study are: Ernst Kühnel and L. Bellinger, *Catalogue of Dated Tiraz Fabrics* (1952), Adolf Grohman, "Tirāz," in *EI* (1934), Serjeant (1972), and Irene A. Bierman's dissertation, "From Politics to Art: The Fatimid Uses of Tiraz Fabrics" (1980).

Both the primary sources and research studies increase for the

‘Abbasid and later periods. Arab chroniclers, such as al-Tabarī, al-Jahshiyārī, al-Mas‘ūdī, Hilāl al-Šābi’, often make passing mention of clothing when describing the ruling elite. *Adab* (polite education) literature is replete with references to dress. The *Kitāb al-Muwashshā’ aw al-Zarf wa’l-Zurafā’* (On elegance and elegant people) of al-Washshā’ (1886 and 1953) is the richest source of this genre. The author devotes several chapters of his book to descriptions of the wardrobe of his contemporaries and advice on good taste in fashion. Regrettably, he does not provide as much detail on female attire. Another *adīb* with valuable details on clothing is al-Tha‘ālabī in his *Laṭā’if al-ma‘ārif* (1960; Eng. trans. 1968). Arab geographers, such as Ibn Hawqal and al-Muqaddasī, supply valuable information on clothing in their descriptions of the inhabitants of various provinces and in their cataloguing of the goods produced in specific regions. On the basis of the above-mentioned sources, economic historians, such as Eliyahu Ashstor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l’Orient médiéval* (1969), have been able to establish the prices for garments in various parts of the caliphate over several centuries. There is still a need for the editing and publication of additional contemporary texts in Arabic (and the other Middle Eastern languages) dealing with clothing. Albert Arazi’s excellent edition of al-Suyūtī, *Al-Āḥādīth al-Hisān fī Fadl al-Taylasān* (1983) with its important introduction is a model to be emulated.

Some garments have survived from this period, most notably from Egypt, where preservation has been exceptionally good due to the climate. One study of a single tunic which is probably from the early ninth century (late second century A.H.) and now in the Bardo Museum in Tunis, is Mohamed Fendri, “Un vêtement islamique ancien au Musée du Bardo” (1967-1968). In another article, entitled “Les courtiers en vêtements en Ifriqiya au IX^e-X^e siècle” (1962), Mohamed Talbi has collected most of the textual data on the dress of the Ifriqiyan upper class during the ninth and tenth centuries.

The best-studied period for the costume history of the Arab world during the Middle Ages is that of the Fatimids. Perhaps no era was more clothes conscious. Fatimid pomp and ceremony exceeded anything known in Baghdad, and clothing played a major part in creating the splendid effect. For court costume and ceremonial, the primary source is al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, and to a lesser extent al-Qalqashandī and Ibn Taghribirdī, all three of whom wrote during the Mamluk

period and depended upon the lost work of Ibn al-Tuwayr. Although there are no discrete studies of Fatimid official attire, there are several studies on court ceremonial which have important discussions of clothing among which are: M. Canard, “Le cérémonial fatimide et le cérémonial byzantin” (1951), M. H. Zaki, *Kunūz al-Fātimīyyīn* (1937), A.M. Majid, *Nuzūm al-Fātimīyyīn wa-Rusūmuhum fī Miṣr*, vol. 2 (1955), Bierman (1980), and most recently Paula A. Sanders’ groundbreaking book, *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo* (1994), based on her dissertation, “The Court Ceremonial of the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt” (1984).

In addition to the attire of the ruling elite, much more is known about the dress of the bourgeoisie and the working class during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods than for the preceding eras. This is because of the rich documentation provided by the Cairo Geniza manuscripts. Ashtor (1969) makes some good use of these documents for clothing prices. S. D. Goitein, the doyen of Geniza scholars, has extended discussions of clothing in the contexts of economic life and the overall material culture of the times in his magisterial *A Mediterranean Society* vols. 1 and 4 (1967 and 1983). Y. K. Stillman has employed the Geniza documents exclusively for costume studies, which include in addition to Stillman (1972) and (1976) “The Wardrobe of a Jewish Bride in Medieval Egypt” (1974) and “New Data on Islamic Textiles from the Geniza” (1979a). For Ifrīqiya during this period, Hady Roger Idris has collected information on the clothing of all strata of society both from the Arabic sources and from published Geniza studies and included it in a brief subchapter in his volume on cultural life under the Zirids, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides*, vol. 2 (1962).

The Turkish Military Dynasties

There are a number of good studies for the period extending from the eleventh to early sixteenth century, when much of the Arab East came under successive Turkish military dynasties, and Central Asian military and ceremonial attire became the fashion of the dominant elite. M. V. Gorelick, “Blizhnevostochanaya Miniatyura XII-XIII vv. kak Etnografichesky Istochnik” (1972), basing his work primarily on

manuscript illuminations, stucco reliefs, and depictions of dress on ceramic ware, and limiting himself to male attire, has attempted to distinguish between two broad vestimentary complexes throughout the Middle East during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—the Western, based upon the fusion of old Arabian styles with those derived from Hellenistic Mediterranean prototypes, and the Eastern, derived from Iranian, Turkish, and Inner Asian styles. One of the most comprehensive monographs for costume history during the medieval period is L. A. Mayer's *Mamluk Costume* (1952). An art historian and an Arabist, Mayer draws upon all available sources—representations in Islamic art, literary descriptions, preserved relics of garments, and European artistic and literary descriptions. Mayer organizes his work mainly by social groupings rather than by types of garments, beginning at the top of the hierarchy and working his way down the social ladder to non-Muslims (Christians, Jews, and Samaritans) and women. Two chapters and an appendix are devoted to special garments and vestimentary institutions: arms and armor, robes of honor, and the *qumāsh*. Mayer's work is a model of its kind. It is supplemented, but only very slightly, by the chapter on dress in A. M. Majīd, *Nuzūm Dawlat Salāṭīn al-Mamalīk wa-Rusūmuhum fī Miṣr*, vol. 2 (1967). However, Ahmad 'Abd al-Rāziq in the chapter on clothing in his *La femme au temps des Mamlouks en Egypte* (1973), has added considerably to the socioeconomic information provided by Mayer on female attire by, among other things, drawing upon published Geniza data.

There have been of late some good studies of individual Mamluk garments found in the archaeological excavations of Quseir al-Qadim, a Red Sea port in Southern Egypt, by Gillian Eastwood, who as a costume historian, provides minute details on the actual construction of the garments discussed (cut, fabric, decoration, etc.). See Eastwood, "A Medieval Face-Veil from Egypt" (1983), and her later article under the name of Gillian M. Vogelsang-Eastwood, "Two Children's Galabiyehs from Quseir al-Qadim, Egypt" (1987).

Late Medieval Islamic Spain and North Africa

There are a few good studies of clothing for late medieval Islamic Spain, most of them by Rachel Arié. The most notable is her pithy article “Quelques remarques sur le costume des musulmans d’Espagne au temps des Nasrides” (1965), based upon both contemporary texts and artistic sources. Another of her articles, “Le costume des musulmans de Castille au XIII^e siècle d’après les miniatures du *Libro del Ajedrez*” (1966), examines costumes as depicted in a Spanish illuminated manuscript. She also includes discussions of clothing in her broader historical and art historical studies *L’Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides* (1973) and *Miniatures hispano-musulmanes* (1969). The only other student of Islamic costume to have made an important contribution to the study of this period is Jeanne Jouin. In a very brief, but valuable article, “Documents sur le costume des musulmans d’Espagne” (1934), Jouin uses her practical experience as an ethnographer to interpret drawings of Spanish Muslims made by contemporary Christians.

There are no comparable studies for the costume history of late medieval North Africa. Robert Brunschwig devotes a small section to clothing in the long chapter on the social and economic structures of society in Hafsid Tunisia in his *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsidès* (1947). Brunschwig bases his description exclusively upon references in Arabic texts and the reports of travelers such as Leo Africanus and Anselme Adorne.

The Ottoman Period in the Arab World

From the beginning of the Ottoman period and into the nineteenth century, European travelers begin to provide rather lengthy descriptions of “native costume” in the Arabic-speaking world. This material must be used extremely carefully, but despite its problematical nature is an essential source for costume history. Edward William Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1836 and numerous later editions) provides some of the most accurately detailed descriptions of traditional attire to be found anywhere, accompanied by superb engravings. Other travelers who also provide valuable information on

Arab dress include Lane's contemporaries James Silk Buckingham and J. L. Burckhardt, and at the turn of the century Alois Musil (for all of whom, see the Bibliography).

Twentieth-Century Ethnographic Studies

French and German ethnographers have produced a considerable body of literature on Arab clothing from the beginning of the twentieth century on. Many of the German studies relate to Palestinian costume and were part of what might be referred to as "Holy Land Studies." Among the notable contributions are: Leonhard Bauer, "Kleidung und Schmuck der Araber Palästinas" (1901) and *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* (1903), Friedrich Ulmer, "Südpalästinensische Kopfbedeckungen" (1918) and "Arabische Stickmuster" (1921). But by far the best and most comprehensive work in this category is Gustaf Dalman's seven-volume magnum opus on traditional Palestinian Arab life, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* (1934; repr. 1964), in which a large section of volume five deals with costume. This German ethnographic tradition was carried on in other parts of the Arab world, most notably in North Africa by Ernst Rackow, whose excellent costume (and broader ethnographic) studies, such as "Das Beduinen Kostüm in Tripolitanien" (1943), *El traje musulman femenino en Africa del Norte* (1953), and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos* (1958) are generally accompanied by finely executed drawings and patterns which not only show how the garment is constructed and how it looks when worn, but step by step how it is wrapped or draped.

The French have produced the lion's share of work on Maghrebi dress in this century, just as they have dominated all aspects of North African studies. This was due in no small measure to the desire to know everything about the natives in their colonial domains and to the ease of access for their own scholars. It is impossible to summarize the large and highly variegated body of literature on Maghrebi costume. For example, Louis Brunot's monograph-length article "Noms de vêtements masculins à Rabat" (1923) is arranged as a dictionary in the style of Dozy. It is an invaluable work, not only for its precise definitions of costume terminology, but for its many comparative

notes. A very different approach is Georges Marçais's *Le Costume musulman d'Algier* (1930), written as a work of art history. This latter work still remains unparalleled for its scope, its richness of illustrations, and the wealth of historical data. Another work of enormous visual richness is Jean Besancenot's *Costumes du Maroc* (1942; repr. 1989). Besancenot was a superb artist who recorded the enormous variety of traditional Moroccan dress not long before much of it was to be forever abandoned. (He did a similar album on Moroccan jewelry.) Unfortunately, his extensive hand-written notes and many of his black-and-white photographs made in the 1930s and 1940s have never been published.

Many of the French costume studies on North Africa deal with a specific region, city, or tribal grouping. Many are concerned with specific categories of clothing, such as bridal attire or headgear. This tradition of ethnographic costume studies has continued after the independence of the Maghrebi countries, both among French scholars and increasingly by local scholars writing in French. Some examples of the latter include: C. Ougouag-Kezzal, "Le costume et la parure de la mariée à Tlemcen" (1970), and N. Mahjoub, "Le costume des hommes de religion et de justice à Tunis" (1968).

Throughout the first half of this century, most French costume studies on the Arabic-speaking world dealt with North Africa, and most were primarily descriptive in nature. One of the notable exceptions to this rule was the work of R. Tresse, who studied the process of change in Levantine dress in the modern era in two pioneering articles: "L'évolution du costume des citadins syrolibanais depuis un siècle" (1938), and "L'évolution du costume des citadines en Syrie depuis le XIX^e siècle (1939). In recent years, the work being done in France has become more theoretical, with emphasis on the semiotics of dress, "vestimentary codes," and (following Tresse) evolution in dress, all in pursuit of what a CNRS colloquium in 1983 dubbed "an anthropology of dress." There are several such studies in a special issue of *L'Ethnographie* 80 (1984), entitled *Vêtements et Sociétés* 2 (the proceedings of an earlier colloquium, *Vêtements et Société* 1 (1981), had previously appeared, published by the Musée de L'Homme). One such example is Lucienne Saada's "Signes de reconnaissance sociale à travers le costume tunisien."

A similar semiotic and theoretical approach is also becoming more

common in other countries as well. The recent symposium volume edited by Nancy Lindisfarne-Tapper and Bruce Ingham, *Languages of Dress in the Middle East* (1997), with contributions by a number of British scholars is a good example of this. Aside from the general introduction which raises important methodological issues, only three of the ten essays deal with the Arab world. However, two or three other articles dealing with Iran and Turkey do raise important parallels for students of Arab attire.

Over the past decade and a half there has been an increase in studies of regional dress. In the leading place are books and articles on Palestinian costume: Stillman (1979b), Rajab (1988), Weir (1989), and the important anthology *Mémoire de soie: Costumes et parures de Palestine et de Jordanie* (Institut du Monde Arabe 1988), based on the collection of Widad Kawar, a well-known collector and dealer.

Saudi Arabian dress has also received considerable attention. Heather Colyer Ross's lavishly illustrated, oversized book *The Art of Arabian Costume* (1981) treats clothing as works of art. The book shows sound research and gives considerable detail, although the garments are displayed with a tendency toward kitsch by what appear to be professional fashion models posing against picture postcard backgrounds. John Topham's *Traditional Crafts of Saudi Arabia* (1982) has a major chapter on clothing, but like many works based on a single collection reflects the collector's personal choice and aesthetics and is somewhat haphazard. The pamphlet accompanying the traveling exhibition organized by Patricia Fiske, *Palms and Pomegranates: Traditional Dress of Saudi Arabia* (1987-1989), though modest in scope has useful details on the items described.

There have been a number of books and articles devoted in whole or in part to the clothing of the Gulf States. Though not a costume study, Unni Wikan's *Behind the Veil in Arabia: Women in Oman* (1982) deals with Omani female attire and in particular veiling as part of a broader study on women and gender relations. An entire chapter is devoted to the *burqu'* (the regional name for the *niqāb*) or mask-like face veil worn by married women. For a brief survey of present-day male and female Omani attire, see Thurayyad al-Baqsami, "Omani Dress" (1985). Najla 'Izzī, *Anmāt min al-Azyā' al-Sha'bīyya al-Nisā'īyya* (1975) treats traditional Qatari female attire from a folkloric perspective.

The great variety of Iraqi traditional dress has been comprehensively surveyed in Walīd al-Jādir's very useful book *Al-Malābis al-Sha'bīyya fī 'Irāq* (n.d.). The book's virtue lies not in the rather lengthy, but not very original historical essay, but in the nearly one hundred pages of costume drawings, each with longer or shorter captions. Renate Stein's brief article "Frauen im Irak" (1962) contains a few and mostly superficial notes on costume.

Egyptian traditional costume has been the subject of an historical survey by Sa'd al-Khādim, *Ta'rīkh al-Azyā' al-Sha'bīyya fī Misr* (1959). The same author, himself a major collector of Egyptian garments from all periods, has another volume *Al-Azyā' al-Sha'bīyya* (1965). The best overview of present-day Egyptian dress—traditional and neotraditional—is A. Rugh, *Reveal and Conceal* (1986), in which the author sets out to trace the patterns of dresses throughout Egypt, including the new style known as *al-zayy al-Islāmī*, or *al-zayy al-Shā'ī*. The book contains useful ethnographic photographs and drawings.

Mention should be made here of a brief (78 pages) book *Costume et parure dans le monde arabe* put out by the Institut du Monde Arabe (1987). Aimed at a non-specialist public, it is handsomely illustrated, albeit with a tendency toward touristically kitsch photographs. The historical and ethnographic texts are extremely superficial, but there is a good introductory bibliography topically arranged. Despite these serious flaws and the necessarily spotty selection in so slender a volume, the book makes a valiant attempt to present a holistic picture (or to be more precise, sketch) of traditional costume across the length and breadth of the Arab world.

The Jews of the Arabic World

Relatively little scholarly attention has been devoted to the study of the costume history of the *ahl al-dhimma* in the Islamic world generally, including the Arabic-speaking lands. Until the work of S. D. Goitein and Yedida K. Stillman on the data provided by the Geniza documents on clothing, most academic attention focused on the laws requiring the differentiation of non-Muslims' attire from that of the believers and to the periodic enforcement or imposition of unusual variations of these laws as recorded in historical texts, as for example

Lichtenstädter (1943), or the section dealing with clothing in A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects* (1930, repr. 1970). (Only Mayer [1952] dealt with Jewish attire as a subsection of his overall survey of Mamluk dress.) The Geniza shows that during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods, Jewish clothing seems to have been undifferentiated from that of Muslims.

From the end of the Middle Ages until modern times, the stricter enforcement of the laws of differentiation and the arrival of large numbers of Sephardi Jews into the Islamic countries of the Mediterranean basin resulted in development of distinctive, regional Jewish modes of dress. European visitors to North Africa and the Levant during the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries often provide valuable, detailed descriptions of Jewish attire. In the first half of this century, a number of ethnographers turned to studies of aspects of Jewish dress. Jeanne Jouin, who also had done research on Islamic dress, wrote a pioneering survey of the ornate and variegated costumes of Moroccan Jewish women, "Le costume de la femme israélite au Maroc" (1936). Besancenot (1942) includes many Jewish costumes in his survey of Moroccan traditional dress. The anthropologist Erich Brauer in his classic work on Yemenite Jewry, *Ethnologie der jemenitischen Juden* (1934), devoted a major section to clothing. The virtue of this section is Brauer's combining of the historical and anthropological approaches and his inclusion of valuable comparative data.

Since the mass exodus of Jews from the Muslim world to the state of Israel, the lion's share of the scholarly work on Islamicate Jewish dress has been done there. Much of the research done on traditional costume has been part of a broader salvage ethnography which has tried to collect, preserve, document, and study every aspect of the traditional cultures of Oriental Jewry before it disappeared with assimilation into the new society. The Israel Museum in Jerusalem has exceeded by far all other institutions in this endeavor and in the quality, quantity, and scope of its publications in this area. The museum has mounted major exhibitions devoted to various Oriental Jewish communities. Each of these exhibitions has been accompanied by important scholarly catalogues in which costumes are significantly represented. These catalogues are richly illustrated and generally have first-rate accompanying texts written by either members of the mu-

seum's own excellent ethnographic cultural staff or by guest scholars. Among the most noteworthy catalogues are: *Bokhara* (1976/68); *La vie juive au Maroc* (1973, 1986); *Yehūdē Kurdistān* (Schwartz-Be'eri 1981-82); and *Yehūdē Sefarad bā-Imperiyya hā-‘Otmānīt* (Juhasz 1989), published in English as *Sephardi Jews in the Ottoman Empire: Aspects of Material Culture*. The emphasis, however, in the latter is on Turkey and the Balkans, with rather little on the Arab provinces.

One thing that is frequently missing in the sections on costumes in these catalogues is comparative data with the costumes of the surrounding Muslim society. This is unfortunate since both the similarities and the differences are highly instructive not only for their typology, but for insights into realms of intergroup contacts and boundaries. Often absent too is any discussion of the evolution from traditional to Western dress in those countries that were affected by European influences. There have been several catalogues juxtaposing the material culture of Oriental and European Jews, as for example *A Tale of Two Cities: Jewish Life in Frankfurt and Istanbul, 1750-1870* (1982), in which however costume has only a minor place.

Many of the studies on Islamicate Jewish costume deal with female attire. This is because women's clothing was generally more ornate and more varied than that of males. Moroccan attire has been the subject of two detailed surveys—Jouin (1936) and Stillman, “The Costume of the Jewish Woman in Morocco” (1980). The decorative motifs of Moroccan Jewish women's clothing and jewelry have been the subject of more specialized studies: A. Müller-Lancet, “Markīvīm Meyuhadim li-Lvushām vele-‘Adayyéhem shel Yehūdē Marōqō” (1976), and Y. K. Stillman, “Hashpa‘ot Sefardiyyot ‘al ha-Tarbūt ha-Homrīt shel Yehūdē Marōqō” (1981-82). It is remarkable that there are still no parallel studies on the traditional Jewish costumes of the neighboring Maghrebi countries.

After Morocco, only Yemen has received considerable attention. In addition to Brauer (1934), there is the chapter on clothing in J. Qāfiḥ, *Halikhōt Tēmān* (1963) which is especially valuable for its lexicographic details. Qāfiḥ and Müller-Lancet, “Tilboshet ha-Hatūna shel ha-Yehūdūm be-Virat Tēmān” (1962), have focused upon the elaborate wedding costumes of the Jews of San'a. (Studies on wedding costumes are common in the ethnographic literature on the Islamic East and North Africa, but are regrettably still preciously few

for the Jewish communities of these regions.) Müller-Lancet, who was curator of the Israel Museum's Ethnographic Department for many years, has also studied the artistic motifs of Yemenite Jewish embroidery, much of which was for clothing, in an article "Al Riqmat ha-Yehūdīm bā-Īr San'a" (1963-64).

Traditional Jewish dress from other Arab countries is almost totally ignored. One important exception is Iraq. In addition to the catalogue on Kurdish Jewry mentioned above, there is the important article of Müller-Lancet, "Le-Tōledōt Levūshhan shel Nāshīm Yehūdiyyōt be-Bagdād" (1981), which is a prolegomenon to the study of the clothing of Baghdadi Jewish women. In addition to describing the principal traditional garments, Müller-Lancet outlines the transformations they underwent, together with the forces that influenced these transformations.

Finally, a word should be said here about Alfred Rubens' *History of Jewish Costume* (1967). Though aimed at a non-specialist audience and in serious need of updating, the book has considerable scholarly merit. It contains the broadest conspectus of non-Western (and of course, Western) Jewish attire to be found in any single volume. Furthermore, Rubens covers those countries of the Islamic world, such as Algeria, Tunisia, and Syria, for which there still exists no scholarly studies. He makes excellent use of travel literature and artistic representations.

Other Religious and Ethnic Minorities of the Arab World

More generally, there is a need for research on the traditional clothing of the other ethnic and confessional groups in the Arab world, such as the Berbers, Kurds, Druze, Copts, and Maronites. Except for the Berbers, none of these have received the kind of attention by costume researchers that has been devoted to the Jews. This is a major lacuna that needs to be filled, because their clothing constitutes an important variant or subset within the Islamic vestimentary system.

One very important work on the priestly and monastic garments of various Christian confessions in the medieval Arab world is Karel C. Innemée's groundbreaking survey, *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval*

Near East (1992). While the overwhelming majority of the book deals with the Coptic and Nubian churches, other rites such as the Syrian, Orthodox, and Armenian are also treated. While not dealing directly with costume, there are many articles and museum catalogues that deal with Coptic textiles. In addition to the many examples of tunics, much of the decorative panels, roundels, and bands were parts of garments (clavi, sleevebands, chest pieces, and borders). Among the most noteworthy examples are: n.a., *The Coptic Museum* (1957); R. Pfister, *Tissus Coptes du Musée du Louvre* (1932); and Alisa Baginski and Amalia Tidhar, *Textiles from Egypt: 4th-13th Centuries* (1980). All of these have a wealth of illustrative examples. The last mentioned has a particularly important introduction.

Kurdish attire is treated in several books on Iraqi and Persian attire, such as al-Jādir (n.d.) and Jalīl Dīyā' Pūr, *Pūshāk-i īlīhā, cādūmishīnān wa-rūstā'īyān Irān* (1967). There is also the well-illustrated Israel Museum catalogue *Yehūdāt Kūrdistān* (1981-1982), with a lengthy section on Kurdish dress.

Jewelry

Though not discussed in this book, jewelry is a major accessory to clothing, and therefore it deserves at least a passing mention here. There is a wealth of material that has been published on Arab jewelry medieval and modern. Most of the literature on jewelry and accessories does not deal with the items together with clothing as an integrated whole. One of the few works that does is Stillman (1979).

A few outstanding works on jewelry are: Rachel Hasson, *Early Islamic Jewellery* (1987) and eadem *Later Islamic Jewellery* (also 1987). While neither work deals exclusively with the Arab world, at least half of the first volume and the lion's share of the second do. Marilyn Jenkins and Manuel Keene, *Islamic Jewelry in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1982) is another fine survey covering the entire history of Islam and most of the Arab countries from Iraq to Morocco, as well as Iran and Turkey. Ruth Hawley's little book, *Omani Silver* (1978), while not dealing exclusively with jewelry, contains some useful comparative comments on parallel forms and techniques from other cultures and historical periods. It also has the virtue of treating men's dress acces-

series, such as decorative daggers, their sheaths and belts.

A model for how a detailed textual description and analysis of jewelry can be done is Henriette Camps-Fabrer, *Bijoux berbères de l'Algérie* (1990), in which Algerian Berber jewelry is set into its historical, cultural, and economic context. It also gives more than just a passing mention to the relation of jewelry to clothing. Heather Collyer Ross, *The Art of Bedouin Jewellery: A Saudi Arabian Profile* (1981) also provides considerable analytical text together with its lavish illustrations. Jean Besancenot, *Bijoux arabes et berbères du Maroc* (1953) is another classic work of Besancenot's, with finely detailed drawings together with precise detailed descriptions of each item. Another classic work and still after nearly a century an indispensable reference work on North African jewelry in general is Paul Eudel, *Dictionnaire des bijoux de l'Afrique du Nord: Maroc, Algérie, Tunisie, Tripolitaine* (1906). Another significant work that is lavishly illustrated with color plates is Samira Gargouri-Sethom, *Le bijou traditionnel en Tunisie* (1986). Many articles on jewelry and costume accessories may be found in North-African journals, such as *Cahiers des Arts et Techniques d'Afrique du Nord*, *Cahiers des Arts et Traditions Populaires*, *Hespéris* and its successor *Hespéris-Tamuda*.

ABBREVIATIONS OF JOURNALS AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS

<i>AARP</i>	<i>Art and Archaeology Research Papers</i>
<i>AI</i>	<i>Archéologie islamique</i>
<i>AIEO</i>	<i>Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales d'Alger</i>
<i>BAA</i>	<i>Bulletin d'Archéologie Algérienne</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London</i>
<i>DMA</i>	<i>Dictionary of the Middle Ages</i>
<i>EI¹</i>	<i>Encyclopædia of Islām</i> , first edition
<i>EI²</i>	<i>Encyclopædia of Islām</i> , second edition
<i>IJMES</i>	<i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i> , old series
<i>JQR</i> n.s.	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i> , new series
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue Africaine</i>
<i>RCEA</i>	<i>Répertoire Chronologique d'épigraphie arabe</i>
<i>REI</i>	<i>Revue des Études Islamiques</i>
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des Études Juives</i>
<i>ROMM</i>	<i>Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée</i>
<i>SBAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien</i>
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA I

p. xvix, no. 4: E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1972). > E. J. Brill: Leiden, 1972).

p. 7, l. 5: worn by both sexes.¹ > worn by both sexes.¹)

p. 9, l. 11: Imru 'l-Qays > Imru' al-Qays

p. 10, l. 2: and in wider > and in the wider

p. 13, n. 20: Imrū' al-Qays > Imru' al-Qays

p. 14, n. 22: Matkatabat al-Ḥayāt > Makatabat al-Ḥayāt

p. 21, l. 15: al-Hajjāj > al-Ḥajjāj

p. 21, n. 45: (W. de Gruyter: Berlin, 1961)², > (W. de Gruyter: Berlin, 1961),

p. 25, l. 15 (*Musnad VI*, 438) should be deleted as it is in footnote 65.

p. 25, n. 64: *bābs* 46: > *bāb* 46:

p. 26, l. 22: *burd* > *burda*

p. 33, l. 16: Sulaymān had penchant > Sulaymān had a penchant

p. 38, n. 27: Al-Maṭba‘ah al-Miṣriyah bil Azhar > Al-Maṭba‘a al-Miṣriyya bil-Azhar

p. 39, l. 24: *zonārion* > *zonárium*

p. 40, l. 16: ‘Abd al-Malik > ‘Abd al-Malik’s son Hishām

p. 42, l. 26: so much 'Abbasid practice and protocol > so much of 'Abbasid practice and protocol

p. 42, l. 33: (*khil'a*) > (*khila'*)

p. 44, l. 2: Abu l-Ṭayyib > Abu 'l-l-Ṭayyib

p. 47, n. 46: al-Maṭba'ah al-‘Ilmiyyah > al-Maṭba'a al-‘Ilmiyya

p. 48, l. 9: 'Abassids > 'Abbasids

p. 51, l. 8: light weight *kisā'* > light-weight *kisā'*

p. 53, n. 65: *al-Muntazam fi Ta'rikh al-Muluk wa 'l-Umam* > *al-Muntazam fi Ta'rikh al-Muluk wa 'l-Umam* VI

p. 53, n. 66: M. Ó. Zakī > O. Zakī

p. 55, l. 7: *taḥnīk al-imāma* > *taḥnīk al-‘imāma*

p. 55, n. 69: pp. 1-28. > pp. 1-28. And see now also: Stefan C. Reif, *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo: The History of Cambridge University's Genizah Collection* (Curzon: Richmond, Surrey, 2000).

p. 67, l. 3: elite > élite

p. 69, n. 15: The debate is over the *zamt'*s/*zant'*s identity is from Dozy's time to his own is summarized > The debate over the *zamt'*s/*zant'*s identity from Dozy's time to his own is summarized

p. 70, l. 3: elite > élite

p. 73, n. 24: Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) 3929, vol. 76 *verso*. > Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 3929, vol. 76 *verso*.

p. 76, n. 33: (Insitut > Institut

p. 78, n. 40: Bibliothèque Nationale ms arabe 3465 > Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 3465

p. 79, l. 21: elite > élite

p. 79, n. 43: Bibl. Nat. (Paris) Ms arabe 5847 > Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) ms arabe 5847

p. 80, l. 21: elite > élite

p. 82, l. 14: women seated in women's balcony > women seated in the women's balcony

p. 96, n. 25: pp. 72-72. > pp. 72-73 and 81.

p. 106, l. 3: imposed in addition to black > in addition to imposing black

p. 112, l. 26: Perhaps during no period in Islamic history > Perhaps during no other period in Islamic history

p. 121, n. 2: *bi-Dhikr al-*I*Itibār Khiṭāt* > *bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭāt*

p. 124, n. 10: I. Al-Abyārī and A. H. Shalibi > I. al-Abyārī and A. H. Shalibī

p. 124, n. 10: al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma‘ādin al-Jawhar*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and A. Pavet de Courteille V > al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma‘ādin al-Jawhar* V, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and A. Pavet de Courteille

p. 124, n. 10: *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, II (Cairo, 1913/1331) > *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd* II (n. p.: Cairo, 1913/1331)

p. 125, n. 13: pp. 143-51. > pp. 143-151.

p. 128, l. 18: such textile and garments > such textiles and garments

p. 128, n. 22: *AI* 24 (1995). > *AI* 29 (1995), pp. 1-24.

p. 130, n. 28: Al-Ma‘had > al-Ma‘had

p. 131, n. 31: *JESHO* 23 (1980). > *JESHO* 23 (1980), pp. .

p. 136, n. 48: Matba‘at al-Dawlah > Maṭba‘at al-Dawla

p. 140, n. 8: Maba‘a al-Ma‘ārif > Maṭba‘at al-Ma‘ārif

p. 142, l. 8: Qusayr ‘Amra > Quṣayr ‘Amra

p. 143, n. 15: Dar Maktabat al-Hayat > Dār Maktabat al-Hayāt

p. 148, n. 31: Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), ms arabe 2964, fol. > Nationalbibliothek (Vienna) A. F. 10 fol. 3, in Dorothea Duda, *Islamische Handschriften II* Tafelband (Österreischischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Vienna, 1992), Farbtafel I.

p. 161, ll. 3-4: where traditional-attire civilian dress is still normally traditional > where civilian dress is still normally traditional

p. 161, ll. 11-13: with Muslim law,), is – already noted in the preceding chapter, a modern, neo-traditionalist confection > with Muslim law), is—already noted in the preceding chapter—a modern, neo-traditionalist confection

p. 166, l. 24: (see fig. 8), > (see fig. 8a),

p. 166, n. 12: Topham, *Traditional Crafts of Saudi Arabia*, p. 117, Pl. 3. > J. Topham, *Traditional Crafts of*

Saudi Arabia (Stacey International: London, 1982), p. 117, Pl. 3.

p. 168, n. 15: p.97. > p. 97.

p. 168, n. 17: John Topham et al., > John Topham,

p. 169, n. 19: *Tarḥīr al-Mar'a* > *Tahrīr al-Mar'a*

p. 170, l. 11: (see Pl. 57 and 58) > (see Pl. 58 and 59)

p. 171, l. 30: (see Pl. 69).²³ > (see Pl. 69).²³

p. 176, l. 38: Dress of Non-Muslims' (1943). > Dress of Non-Muslims" (1943).

p. 179, l. 3: elite > élite

p. 180, l. 11: elite > élite

p. 180, l. 34: elite > élite

p. 183, l. 10: der Araber Palästinas' (1901) > der Araber Palästinas" (1901)

p. 185, l. 36: *al-Sha'bīyya al-Nīsā'īyya* > *al-Sha'bīyya al-Nīsā'īyya*

p. 186, ll. 2, 9, 11: *al-Sha'bīyya* > *al-Sha'bīyya*

p. 187, l. 10: resulted in development > resulted in the development

p. 188, l. 2: *Bokhara* (1976/68) > *Bokhara* (1967/68)

p. 196, l. 3: Abdelkafi. *Weddings in Tripolitania*. Government Press: Tripoli, n.d. > Abdelkafi. *Weddings in Tripolitania*, trans. C. P. Bradurne. Government Press: Tripoli, n.d.

p. 196, ll. 16-17: The entire reference for *al-Libās wa 'l-Zinā fi 'l-ālam al-'Arabī* is already correctly under Binul, on p. 198

p. 197, l. 20: _____. ed. and tr. > _____. ed. and trans.

p. 198, l. 20: “Turban,” *EI*¹ > “Turban,” *EI*¹.

p. 198, l. 23: Blochet, E., tr. > Blochet, E., trans.

p. 198, l. 27: _____, tr. > _____, trans.

p. 200, l. 47: “Istiskā’,” *EI*² > “Istiskā’,” *EI*².

p. 201, l. 1: *al-Qāmūs al-Muhibbī*. > *al-Qāmūs al-Muhibbī*. 4 vols. Matba‘at Dār al-Ma‘mūn: Cairo, 1938/1357.

p. 203, l. 10: al-Matba‘a al-Malikiyya > al-Matba‘a al-Malikiyya

p. 203, ll. 45-46: Matba‘at al-Dawlah: > Matba‘at al-Dawla:

p. 204, l. 24: *Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi Ikhtirāq al-Afqāq* > *Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi 'khtirāq al-Afqāq*

p. 204, l. 41: Izzi, N. *Anmāt min al-Azyā' al-Sha'bīya al-Nisā'iyya*. 1975. > Izzī, Najla, al-. *Anmāt min al-Azyā' al-Sha'bīya al-Nisā'iyya*. Markaz al-Turāth al-Sha'bī li-Duwāl al-Khalīj al-'Arabiyya: Doha, 1975.

p. 204, l. 44: *Al-Malābis al-Sha'bīya fī 'l-Irāq*. > *al-Malābis al-Sha'bīya fi 'l-Irāq*.

p. 205, l. 28: *Ta'rīkh al-Azyā' al-Sha'bīya fī Misr* > *Ta'rīkh al-Azyā' al-Sha'bīya fī Misr*

p. 205, l. 29: *al-Azyā' al-Sha'bīya*. 1965. > *al-Azyā' al-Sha'bīya*. Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Thaqāfa, 1965.

p. 205, l. 41: Kurz, H, and O. Kurz > Kurz, H and Kurz, O.

p. 207, ll. 1 and 3: *wa-rusūmuhum fī Miṣr* > *wa-Rusūmuhum fī Miṣr*

p. 208, l. 9: Morag, S; > Morag, S.,

p. 209, l. 5: Qays, Imrū al-. > Qays, Imru' al-, in al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*. Dār al-Qāmūs al-Hadīth: Beirut, n.d.

p. 209, l. 31: tr. Yedida K. Stillman > trans. Yedida K. Stillman

p. 210, l. 41: ed. and tr. > ed. and trans.

p. 211, l. 29: Daniel Frank.. > Daniel Frank.

p. 211, l. 37: “Libās.” *EI*² > “Libās.” *EI*².

p. 212, l. 7: *EI*² > *EI*².

p. 212, ll. 15-16: al-Maṭba‘a al-Maymaniyya: Cairo, 1887. > al-Maṭba‘a al-Maymūniyya: Cairo, 1887/1305.

p. 213, l. 8: *Sirāj al-Mulūk* Cairo, 1872/1289. > *Sirāj al-Mulūk* Būlāq: Cairo, 1872/1289.

p. 214, l. 5: Matba‘at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya > Maṭba‘at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA II

Plate Captions at end (unpaginated):

34c, l. 2: *izām* > *hizām*

38, l. 2: *The Art of Is* > *The Art of Is-*

48, l. 2: *ṭsāmir* > *ṭsāmir*

50, l. 2: *ṭsāmir* > *ṭsāmir*

50, l. 4: *jukha*-coat \bar{E} > *jukha*-coat –

60, l. 2: *abara* > *habara*

Figures at end (unpaginated):

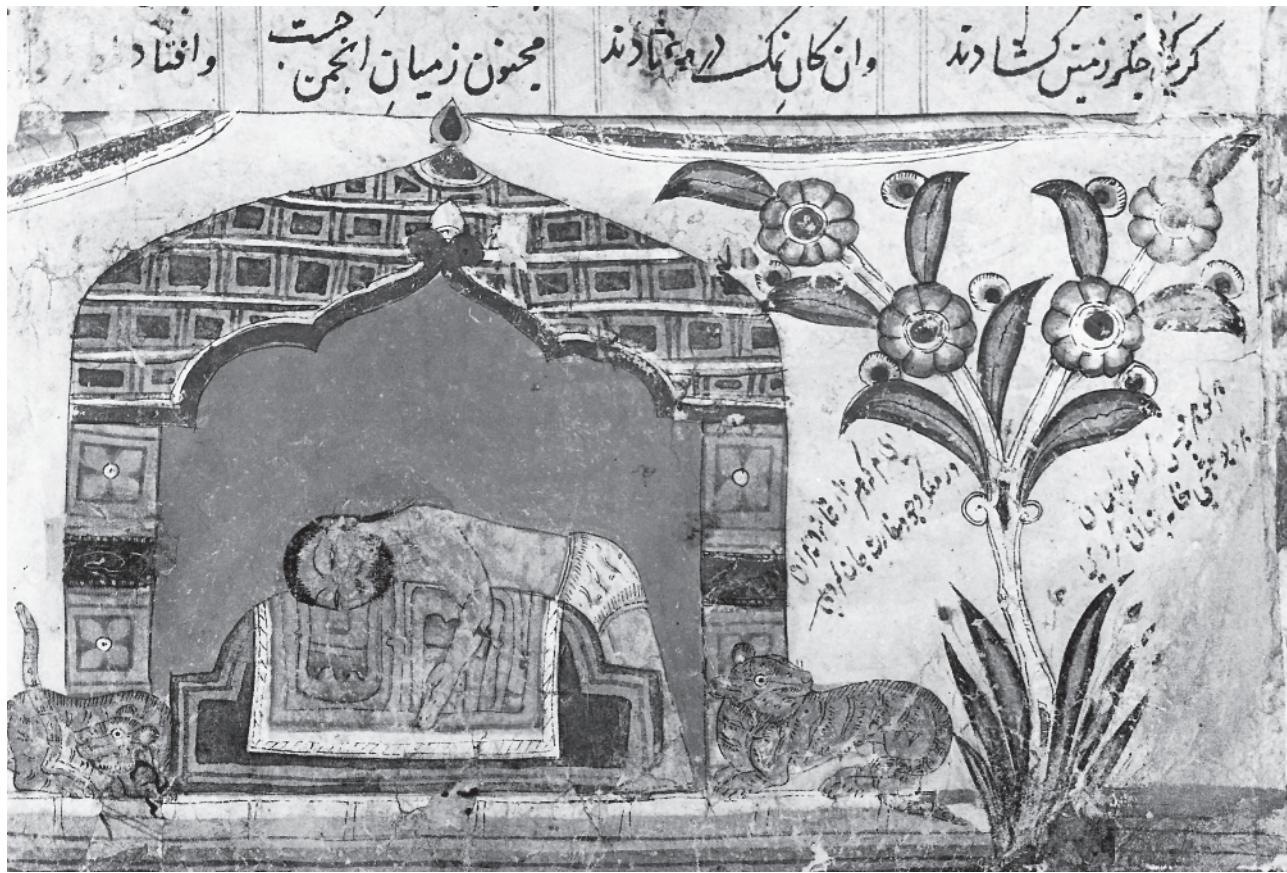
2, l. 3: After *al-ūfi*, *Kitāb ūrat al-Kawākib al-Thābita* > After
al-Ṣūfi, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Kawākib al-Thābita*

PLATES

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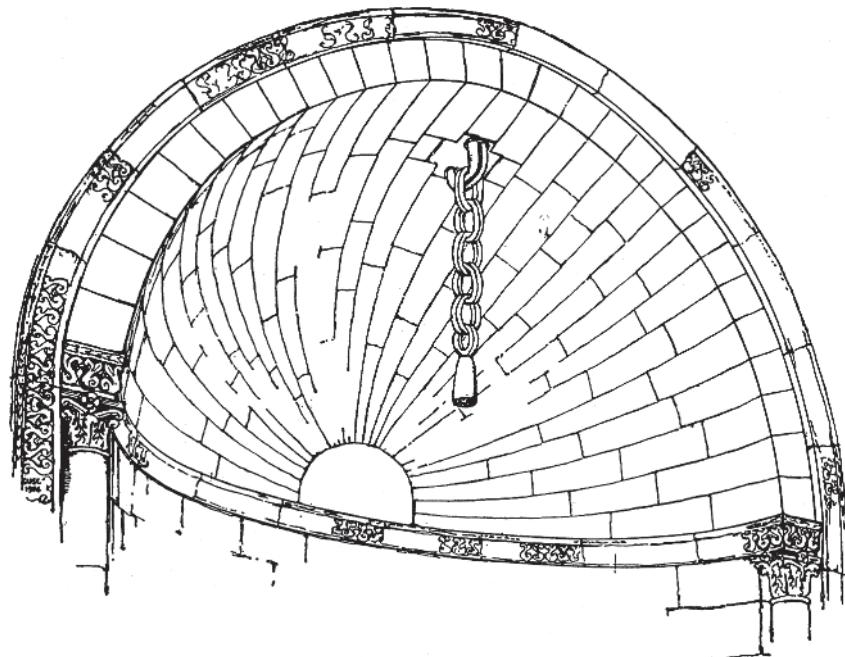
1. Pilgrims wearing the *ihrām* garments consisting of an *izār* around the waist and a *ridā* draped over the upper part of the chest. (National Geographic Magazine)



2. Majnūn at Laylā's tomb wearing only *tubbān*. From a 15th-century copy of Amir Khusraw Divlavi's *Khamseh* (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)



3. Caliphal statue from Khirbet al-Mafjar wearing Sasanian-style *qabā'* with "pearl" border. From: J. Sourdel-Thomine and B. Spuler, *Die Kunst des Islam* (Propyläen Verlag; Berlin, 1973).



4. Hanging caliphal *qalansuwa* (Khirbet al-Mafjar). From: Richard Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic World* (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1972).



5. Mahmūd of Ghazna donning a *Khil'a* sent by the Caliph al-Qahir in 1000 A.D. as depicted in a manuscript of Rashid al-Din's *Jāmi‘ al-Tavārikh* (Edinburgh University Library).

فِي الْكِبَلَةِ وَتَحْتَ سَرِيرِ الْمُرْكَبِ لِإِسْنَاعِ الْأَنْبَيْتِ وَمِنْ تِرْكِيَّتِهِ مَدْسُوكَ خَلُوَّيْنِ دِيْنِ اللَّهِ أَنْوَاحَهُ وَبِرْدَوْنِ
فَرَاجِيَّهُ وَأَرْوَاجَهُ إِذَا الْكَنْطَاجَاجُعَ حَفَلَهُ وَاطَّلَشَافِيَ الشَّخْرَ وَظَلَّهُ بِالْخَطْبَيْنِ أَهْمَسَهُ



مُتَهَادِيَخْلَفُ عَصْسَتِهِ وَارْبَقَ فِيْنَبِرِ الدَّعْنِ إِلَى إِنْشَالِ الزَّرْوَهِ فَلَمْ مُشَيْلِ تَالِمِينِ
لَمْ قَدْحَجِيْهِمْ نَظَمَرِ الْأَنَدِينِ ثَرَفَامَوْفَالَّا
٥ (أَحْدَهُ الْمَلْفَعِ)

6. Qādī seated on raised chair atop the *minbar* with a black *taylasān* draped over his turban and shoulders as depicted in a 13th-century manuscript of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Harīrī (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 6094, folio 93).



7. Seated qādī with a long white *tarha* drawn over his turban and shoulders in a 14th century Egyptian manuscript of the *Maqāmāt* (Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, A. F. 9, fol. 30 *verso*).



8. Figure depicted on a Fatimid lustre ware bowl wearing a giant ellipsoid turban (perhaps the caliphal *tāj al-shārīf*). From Marilyn Jenkins, "Western Islamic Influences on Fātimid Egyptian Iconography," *Kunst des Orients* 10:1-2 (1975).



9. Tuareg wearing a turban in the *muhannak* style. Courtesy of the Moroccan Ministry of Tourism.

10. A Geniza trousseau list detailing jewelry, clothing, bedding, and household utensils (TSJ 1, 29).

١٩
وَفَالَّتَ يَلْزَمْ أَنْتَ مَاجِرٌ وَمِنْزَ الْأَمْرِ فَعَرَفَ اللَّهُ أَعْيَانَهُ أَمْمَهَا وَأَنَّهَا لَمْ يَرَهُ
يَلْزَمْ أَنْ تَفْسِيَ مَعَ مِنْزَ الْأَمْرِ طَشِيقَنَهُ عَلَيْنَا وَلَزَمْ كُسْرَهُ فَرَزَ بَعْكَرَ وَجَسْنَهُ
فَرَزَ بَعْكَرَ وَجَسْنَهُ فَرَزَ وَلَا ازْحَى عَنْهَا الْبَرَادُ
صُورَةُ السَّيْرَةِ تَكْلِمُ الْعَوْرَةِ أَمْرٌ
رَفَاهِ وَرَبَاصٌ وَافْعَةٌ عَلَى الصَّرْخَةِ وَمَهَا يَسْلُلُ عَلَى وَجْهِهَا



فَالَّتَّ أَلْعَوْرَ فَلَمْ لَمْنَا يَا مَسِيرَةٍ لَعَلَّ اللَّهَ يُنْزِلُ الصَّمَدَ وَمِنْ الْمُغَيْرَ

11. Woman (left) wearing a broadly striped robe and matching shawl from a unique 13th-century Maghrebi (either Spain or Ceuta) manuscript of the romance *Hadīth Bayād wa Riyād* (Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican, ms Arabo 368, fol. 13).



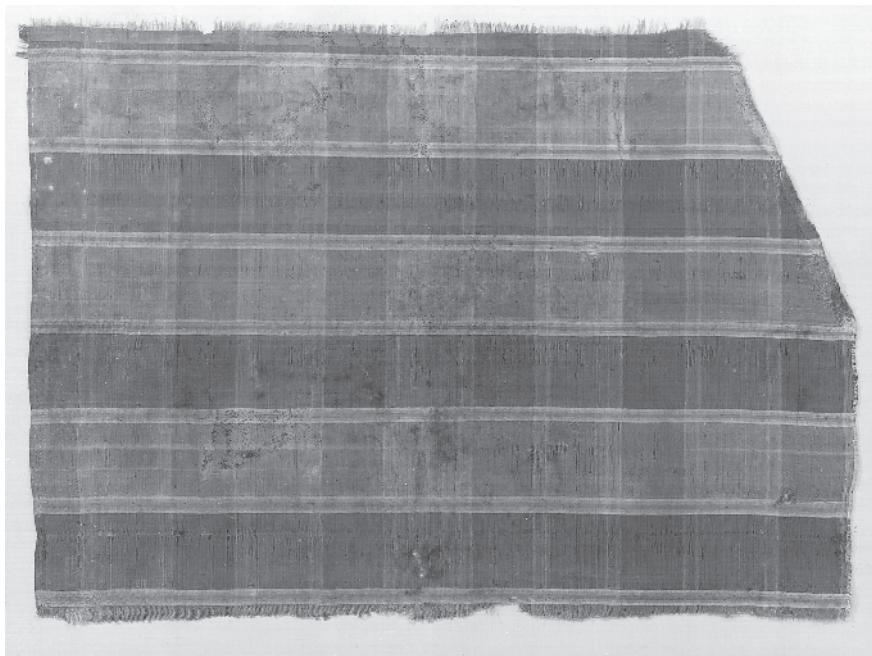
12. Two medical students depicted in a 13th-century manuscript of Dioscurides' *De Materia Medica*, from Northern Iraq or Syria. The one on the right is wearing a finely striped *thawb* (perhaps the pattern known as *jāri al-qalam*, or “the flow of the pen”) with a patterned golden *traz* band on the upper sleeve (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, ms Ahmet III, 2127, fol. 2).



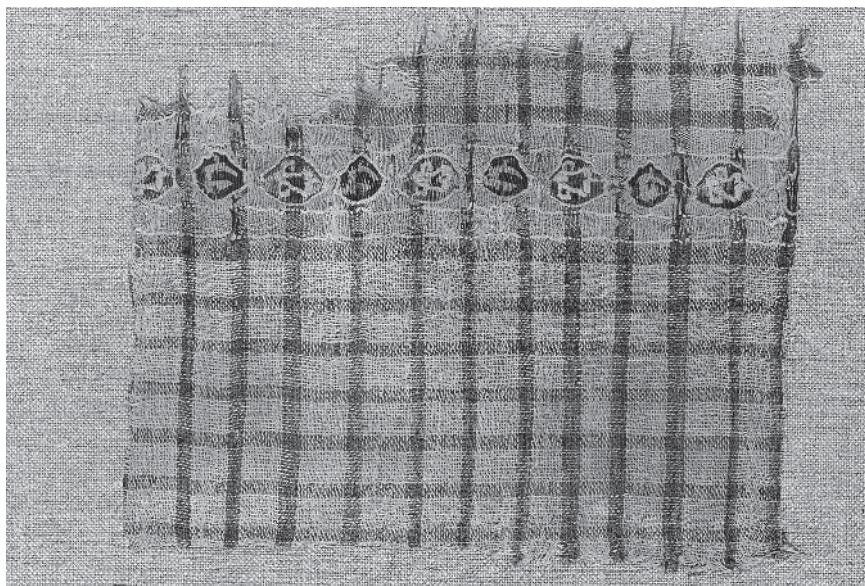
13. Seated drinking figure wearing a robe with ornamental spots (probably the so-called *mu'ayyan*, "with eyes," pattern) on a Fatimid ceramic (Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, no. 15501).

→
14. Seated figure of Abū Zayd wearing a "paneled" tunic from an early 14th-century *Maqāmāt* manuscript, probably from Syria (BM Add. 22.114, f. 98).





15. A “paneled” fragment of a medieval textile (Abegg Stiftung, Riggisberg, inv. no. 2644).



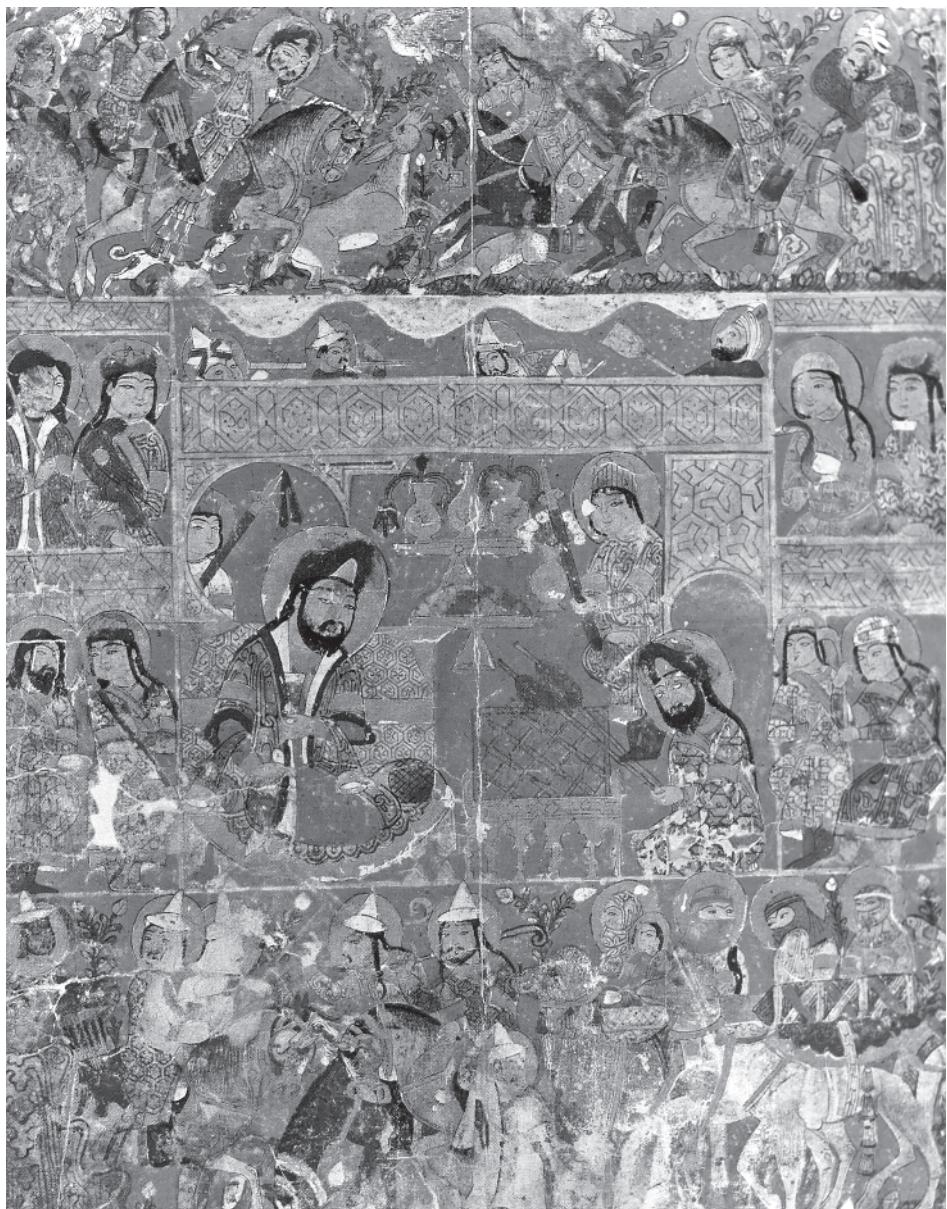
16. Fatimid Egyptian textile fragment of silk and linen with *shatranjī* “checkered” pattern with stylized birds from the second half of the 11th century (Musée d’art et d’histoire, Geneva, Collection Bouvier, JFB M 150. Nathalie Sabato, photographer).



17. Mamluk polo players wearing *aqbiya turkiyya* cinched at the waist by a *band* as depicted on an enamelled glass carafe from Syria, ca. 1260-1270 (Staatliche Museen für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, Katalog 1971).



18. Buckle, roundels, and upright plaques of a *hiyasa* of the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Šalih Ismā‘il (ruled 1342-1345/743-746), belonging to the David Salomons Charitable Trust. From: L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume* (Albert Kundig: Geneva, 1952).



19. Frontispiece of a mid-13th-century manuscript, probably from Mosul of the *Kitāb al-Diryāq* of Pseudo-Galen showing an informal court scene in the center with a seated Turkish ruler (on left) wearing a fur-trimmed, patterned *qabā' maftūh* with elbow-length *tirāz* sleeves and on his head a *sharbush*. Most of his attendants wear *aqbiya turkiyya* and *kalawta* caps. Workman depicted behind the palace and riders in the lower register wear the brimmed hat with conical crown known as *sarāqūj*. On the *sarāqūj* of one workman is a crisscrossed colored *takhfīfa* with a brooch or plaque pinned in the center of the overlap. The women on camels in the lower righthand corner wear a sac-like head veil kept in place by a cloth *'isāba* (Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, ms A. F. 10, fol. 1).



20. Inlaid metal basin (so-called Baptistère de St. Louis) depicting Mamluk soldiers several of whom have blazons on their boots (Louvre, Paris).



21. Illumination from the *Maqāmāt* painted by al-Wāṣīṭī in Baghdad in 1237 depicting the pilgrims caravan. The two walking figures are both wearing *rānāt* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 5847, fol. 94 verso).



22. Frontispiece of a court scene from a *Maqāmāt* manuscript, probably from Egypt, dated 1334. The enthroned prince wears a brocaded *qabā' maftūh* with inscribed *tirāz* armbands over a *qabā' turkī* which is cinched at the waist with a *hiyāṣa* of gold roundels (*bawākir*). The two musicians at the lower right both wear turkic coats and plumed caps, one of which has an upwardly turned brim. The plumes are set in a front metal plaque ('*amūd*) (Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, ms A. F. 9, fol. 1).



23. Frontispiece of *Kitāb al-Aghānī* from Iraq, ca. 1218/19 depicting the enthroned atabeg Badr al-Dīn Lu'lū' 'Abd Allāh wearing a gold brocaded (zarkash), lined *qaba'* *turkī* with gold *tirāz* armbands on which his name is clearly inscribed. His boots are of red leather with gold, probably stamped, vegetal decoration. On his head is a fur-trimmed *sharbush*. Most of his attendants wear Turkish coats, boots, and a variety of *kalawtāt* (Millet Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Feyzullah Efendi ms 1566, folio 1b).



24. Classroom scene from *Maqāmāt* manuscript dated 1222, probably from Syria. Some of the schoolboys are wearing Turkish military *kalawta* caps, a medieval parallel to the military caps worn by students in 19th- and early 20th-century Central and Eastern Europe (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 6094, fol. 167).

وَقُلْتَ لَهُ أَنَا صَاحِبُهَا وَمَضْلِعُهَا وَلَهُ تَرْسُلُهَا وَنَسْلُهَا
 فَلَا تَكُونُ كَسْعَ فَنْجَبَ وَسَعْ فَأَخْذَ بِلَدْعَ
 وَبَصَّرَ وَتَقْعِيْخَ وَلَا سَعْيَ وَبَيْنَاهُو نَزْفٌ وَبَيْنَهُو سَاسَدٌ
 وَسَنَّ كَبِيرٌ لَغَشْبَنَا لَبُورَزِيلُ لَأَبْسَاجَلْدُ الْمَرْ وَلَهْجَمَا
 لَهُوْمُ الْسَّيْلُ الْمَهِيرُ صُورَهُ الْجَزْرُ وَحَصِيدَهُ الْمَهِيرُ



25a-b. Two illuminations from a 13th-century *Maqāmāt* manuscript. The first shows Abū Zayd in an unusual short-sleeved jacket; the second a youth in a long-sleeved one (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 3929, folios 104 and 68 *verso*).



25b



26. Abū Zayd in short robe with unusual mid-calf length straight *sirwāl* of some soft fabric with irregular hems, and on his feet pointed soft leather shoes rolled down just above the ankles. On his head is a *qalansuwa ṭawīla* cut to curve around the side of the face and extending down the back of the neck. Perhaps this outfit reflects the garb of the *futuwwa* or the *‘ayyārūn* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 3929, folio 69).



27. A pair of striped Mamluk *sirwāl* (Musée de Cinquantenaire. From: L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, Albert Kundig: Geneva, 1952).



28. Scene from a manuscript dated 1199, probably from Northern Iraq, of the *Kitāb al-Diryāq* of Pseudo-Galen showing watching agricultural labors. Three of the workers wear only knee-britches (*tubbān*). The unveiled woman sitting in the lower lefthand corner with a sieve in her hand wears only *sirwāl*, a sheer *qamīs* with elbow-length sleeves, and tight-fitting cap on her head (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 2964, old page 22).



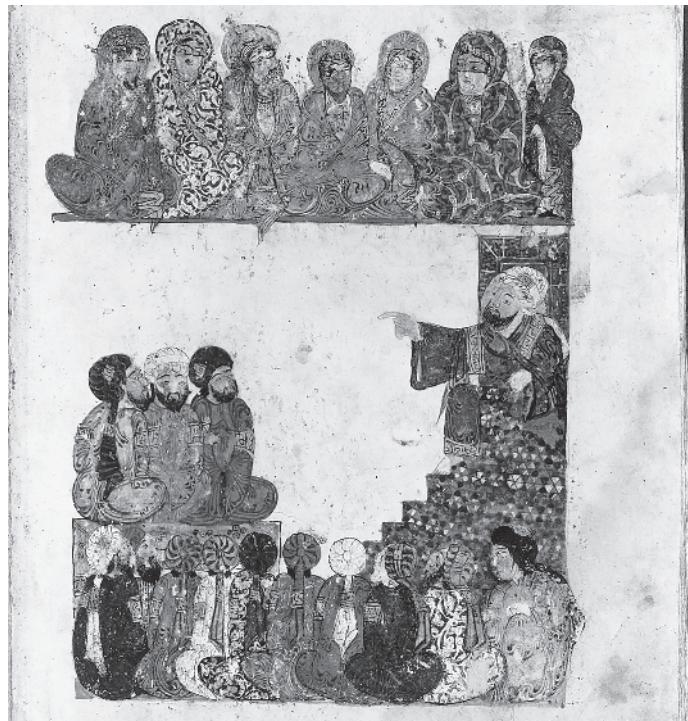
29. Elegant woman depicted in a 13th-century *Maqāmāt* manuscript. She is wearing a wide-sleeved brocade, knee-length robe with clearly inscribed *tirāz* armbands. On her head is a polka dot headscarf which falls down the back to her waist and is held in place with an *'isāba mā'ilā* and a pearl chin chain (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 3939, fol. 151).



30. Miniature from an early 13th-century *Kalila wa-Dimna* manuscript, probably from Baghdad, showing a woman in a narrow-sleeved, full-length, close-fitting brocade robe wearing a wimple-like *mandil*, held in place with a metal *sar band*, addressing the king, who is wearing a *qabā' turkī* with uninscribed *tirāz* armbands, and chiseled gold *tāj* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 3465, fol. 131 verso).



31. Fatimid metal figurine of a woman playing a tamborine or flat drum with a jewel-studded *kūfiyya* on her head (Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, no. 6983).



32. Illumination from *Maqāmāt* manuscript painted by al-Wāṣiṭī in Baghdad in 1237 depicting a preacher addressing the congregation in a mosque. The women seated in the upper gallery are wrapped in plain or brocaded silk mantles (*ardīya*), some of which have decorative borders. They are wearing a variety of veils, including the *qinā'* (or *miqna'a*), the *niqāb*, and the *sha'riyya*. One woman (third from left) is wearing a pair black mesh gloves (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 5847, folio 58 verso).



33. Woman's *yelek* of indigo blue linen with multicolored silk embroidery from Aleppo, ca. 1850. (Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Accession No.3361)



34a-c. Three photos of men and women from the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The above photograph (a) depicts three individuals from Aleppo (from left to right): a Jewish woman in a striped silk *antāri* over a light-colored *khirqa*, and on her head the wig of married woman, covered by a *wuqāya-hat*; a man in fine bedouin attire consisting of a white *thawb* cinched with a *hizām*, over which is a dark *banīsh*-coat, and as a headdress, a patterned *kāfiyya* or *hātta* held in place with a large *brīm* or *'aqāl*; a bedouin woman wearing a dark *thawb* with a *hizām* and on her head and shoulders to form a wimple a large dark *shutfa* held in place with a dark *'isāba*-headband.



34b. This photograph shows a Jewish couple in Jerusalem. The woman is wearing a dark green *fustan*-dress over which is a white cashmere *salta*-jacket, and on her head is a turban consisting of a bonnet (called *fotoz* by Jews, *khotoz* by Turks) around which printed so-called *yamanī* kerchiefs are wound with a chain of pearls hanging above the bridge of the nose and going around each cheek to create a minimalist *burqu'* and over the entire headdress a large white muslin head shawl pinned beneath the chin and covering most of the upper torso. The man wears a white cashmere *jubba* over a striped *antārī* which is cinched with a large scarf. Around his neck is a cashmere *shāl* with a palmette border carefully draped to criss-cross over his chest, and on his head a turban consisting of a *kavese*-hat with a wrapping cloth of white muslin with wavy stripes.



34c. This picture shows a Tripolitanian merchant in a white *farajiyah* (or *durrā'a*) cinched with a white *izām* above which is a narrow belt for his decorative dagger, and on his head a *shadda*-turban. (From: Hamdy Bey and M. de Launay, *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, Constantinople, 1873, Pls. XXV, XXXVI, and XLII).



35. 19th-century engraving of Egyptian man of the bourgeoisie in striped *jubba* cinched with a *hizām*, over which is a dark *banish*, and with an '*imāma*' consisting of a skullcap and winding cloth. From: E. W. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (A. Gardiner: London, 1898), p. 47.



36. High Atlas *akhnif*, a black woolen hooded cape with distinctive embroidery that includes a large orange-red eye at the lower back. It belongs to the general type of North African mantle called *burnūs*. From: G. Rousseau, *Le costume au Maroc*, Paris, 1938, Pl. 3.



37. Various styles of draping a man's *kisā'* or *hā'ik* in early twentieth century Morocco.
From: E. Doutté, *Merrākech*, Paris, 1905.



38. Detail from the carved ivory Andalusian pyxis of al-Mughīra, dated 968, with a genre scene depicting bareheaded figures. From: J.D. Dodds (ed.), *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, New York, 1992.



39. Illumination from the 13th-century manuscript *Hadīth Bayād wa-Riyād*, from Islamic Spain or Ceuta, the hero Bayād is playing the 'ūd in the garden of the wealthy mistress of the house and her handmaidens, all of whom are unveiled and bareheaded except for the lady who wears a large golden *tāj*. He wears a large ovoid turban with a gold *tirāz* "factory patch" on the front (Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican, ms arabo 368, fol. 10).

وَمِنْيَنْ بِالْوَارِمَعْ وَصِنْعَرْ رَاشَرْهْ وَالْبُوَاهْ عَلَى الْنَّابْ وَالْسَّبَرْ لَرْ بَعْنَهْ فَمَا
لَامَنَا وَعَنَّا قَوْلَانْ قَوْلَعْ الْأَمْرَ عَلَى الْجَاجِبْ فَلَا عَزْرَلَ عَزْرَهْ لَكَدِ جَهْنَمْ
مَاهْ بَعْنَهْ أَحْرَمْ أَحْلَى فَلَهْ وَلَا بَغْرِيْهْ

صُورَ سَوْلَكْلَمْ بَيَّا صَرْ وَمُوْبَرْ

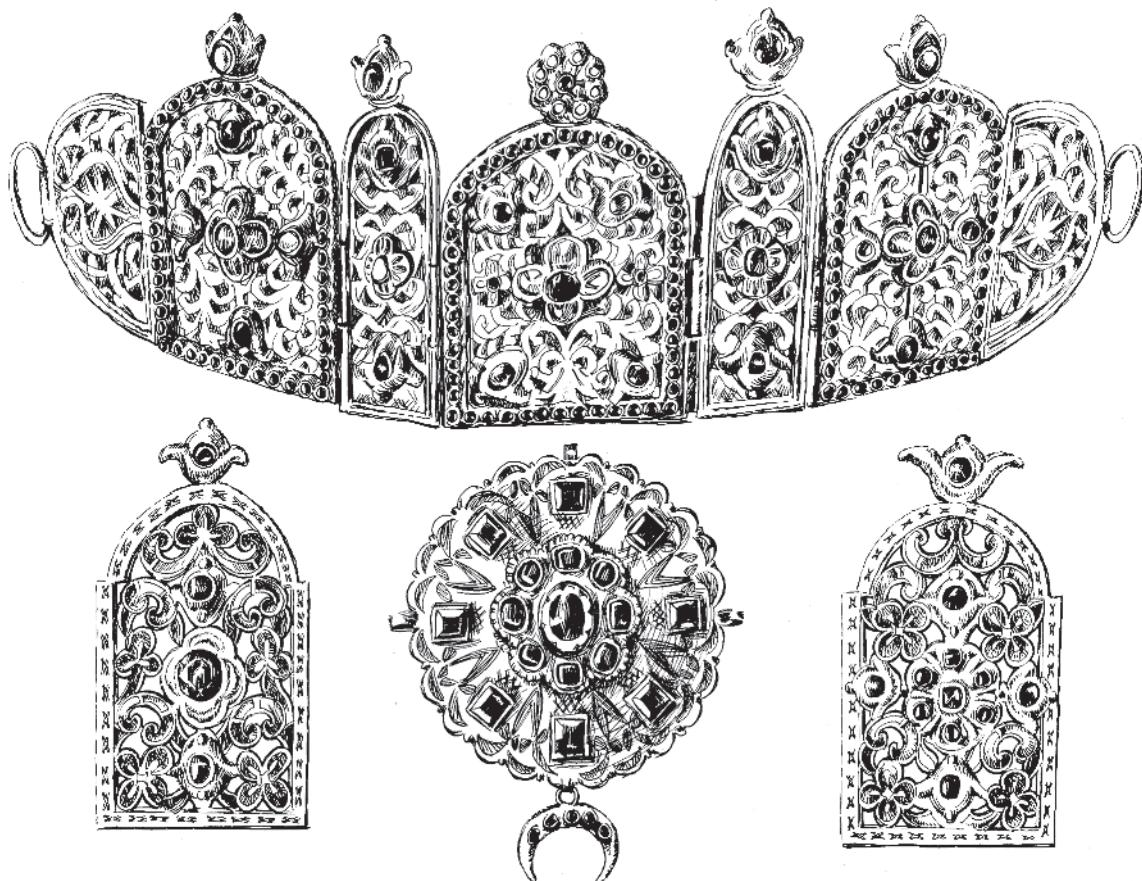
أَنْجَرْ بَعْنَهْ عَلَى الْمَنْرَ وَكَرْفَعْ الْيَنْكَيْتَمَارِيَاهْ



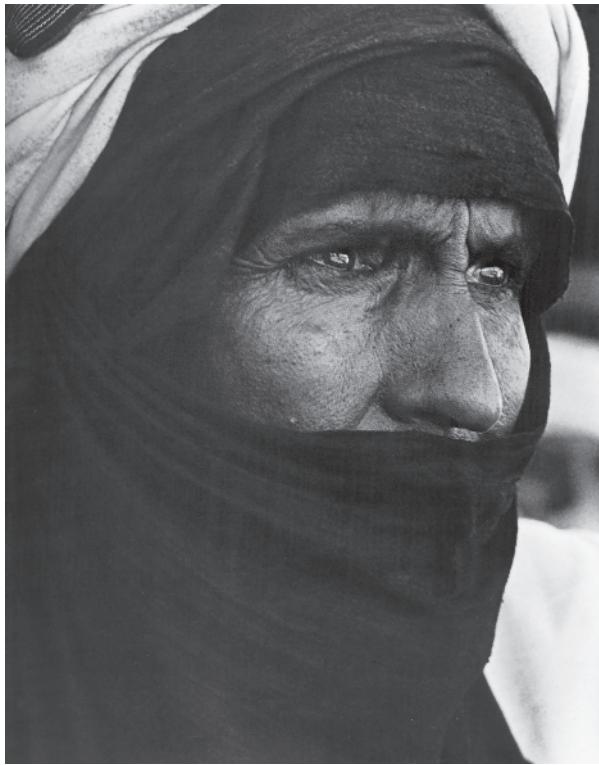
40. The lover Bayād wearing a smaller, round *tirāz* turban with a pointed cap barely protruding through the winding cloth receives letter sent by his beloved. The messenger veils the lower part of her face holding her *milhafa* there with her right hand (Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican, ms arab 368, fol. 17).



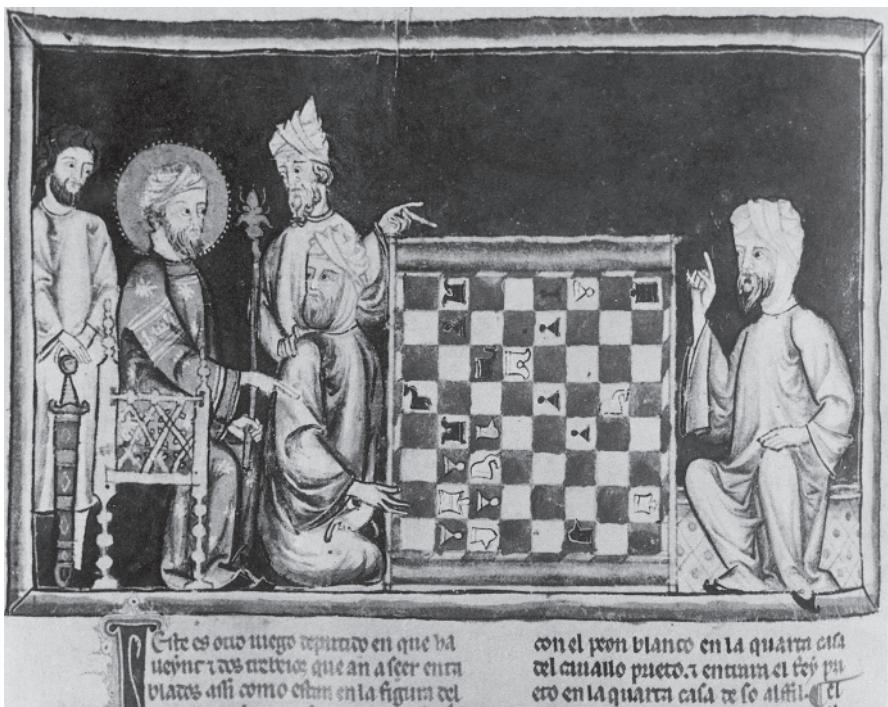
41. Moroccan Jewish women in festive attire, sometime in the 1930s. One wears a large crown (*tāj*), the other two wearing diadems (*tuway*). All these confections are of chiseled gold set with gemstones. On the ground in front of them are their gold embroidered *rihiyyāt*-slippers (Collection of family photographs of Y. K. Stillman).



42. Detailed sketches of Moroccan urban women's gold tiara and diadems set with gemstones (Jean Besancenot, *Bijoux arabes et berbères du Maroc*, Casablanca, 1953, Pl. X).



43. Tuareg nobleman wearing the *tagilmust*, the traditional turban with face veil similar to the *lithām* of the Almoravids. (Photograph by Victor Englebert in *Nomads of the World*, National Geographic Society, Washington, D. C., 1971, p. 113.)



44. Manuscript illumination in the Escorial of the *Libro de Ajedrez* made for Alfonso X in Seville in 1283. It shows Mudejars explaining chess moves to the Christian ruler. All, including the king wear turbans, except for the guard. The two seated players were the *tahnik*, while the standing Mudejar wear a turban wound around a *galansuwa*. The king wears a robe with astral designs and *tiraz* bands on the upper arm inscribed in Arabic. From: R. I. Burns, *Islam Under the Crusaders* (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1973), unpaginated and unnumbered plate.



45. Green silk composite dress embroidered with gold thread from 15th-century Spain, which is one of the prototypes of the Moroccan *kiswa l-kabīra*. From: Karl Köhler, *A History of Costume* (G. G. Harrap: London, 1928), p. 228.



46. *Kiswa lkabira* of violet velvet richly embroidered with gold thread (*sqillī*) from Tetouan, probably 19th century. The composite dress consists of a wrap-around *jalīlīta*-skirt, a *qumbāz*-corselet over a *ktif*-plastron, and detachable *akmām*-sleeves (Courtesy of the Israel Museum).



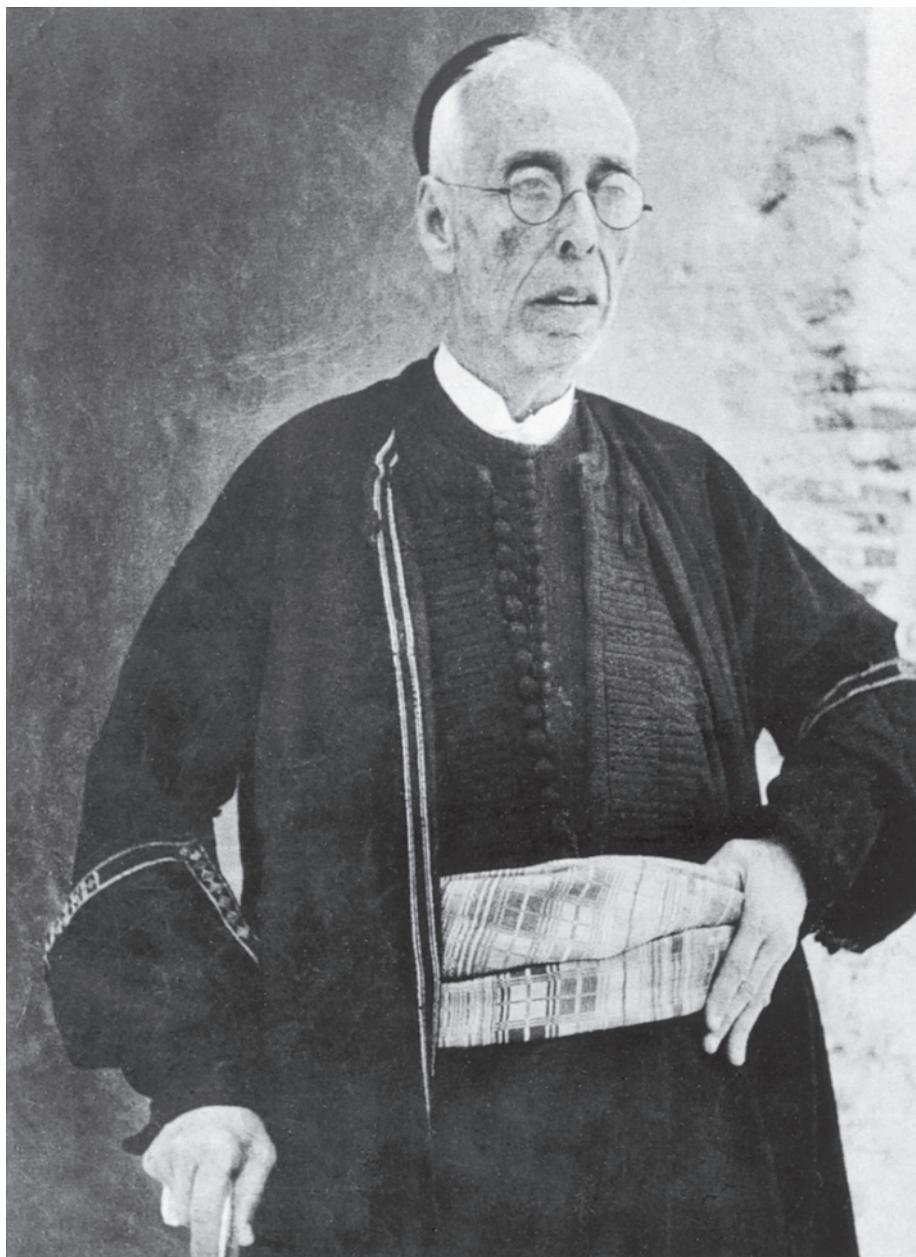
47. Algerian mufti wearing long Andalusian *sirwāl*, over which is a dark blue *qafṭān*, a short-sleeved *qabā'a*-vest and a white *silhām*. On his head is a Turkish-style *'imāma mubarraja* over which is tied a large dark scarf known as a *muhannaka* which is tied at the neck to form a cowl similar to the ancient *taylasān*. From: G. Marçais, *Le costume musulman d'Alger* (Librairie Plon: Paris, 1930), Pl. XIII-Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Estampes O f 2 a.



48. Painting of a Jewish woman from the Dra' Valley in Southern Morocco. She wears a straight, simple shift of white cotton, called *tsāmir* or *cāmir* (from Andalusian *tashamīr*), over which is a white *izār* wound around the body twice, then pulled over the shoulders from the back, and pinned on both sides of the bosom with a pair of silver fibulae, called *khillāla* in Arabic and *tizerzay* in Berber. Her head is tightly covered with a small red silk scarf with colored stripes, called *'abruq* with false tresses of horse hair, wool, silk or feathers protruding at the forehead and in back, and with tufts of ostrich feathers at the temples. Another scarf, called *qatib*, forms a headband to hold the *'abruq* in place. The two head scarves are fastened with a large network of double chains, called *talgamūt*, which also supports the weight of the enormous hoop earings or *akhrās*. A large *fishṭūl* veil covers the head and falls down over the shoulders and back. From: Jean Besancenot, *Costumes du Maroc* (Edisud: Aix-en-Provence and Al Kalam: Rabat. 1988), Pl. 60.



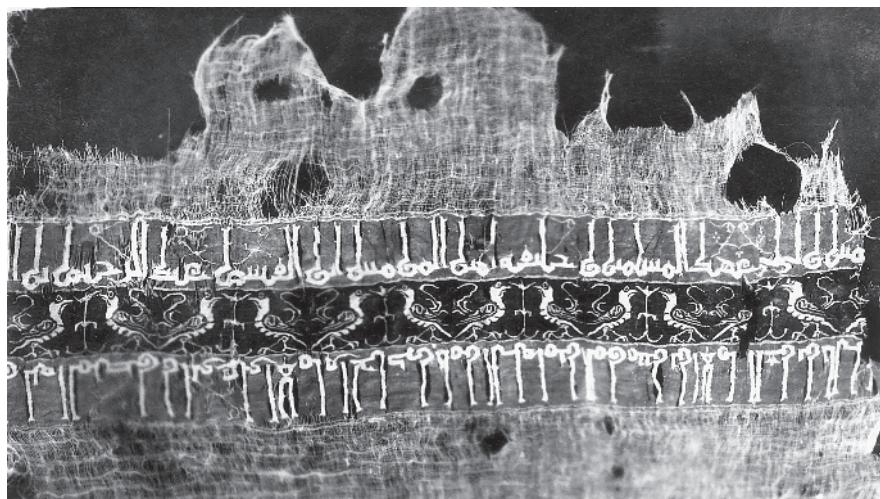
49. Tetouani Jew in traditional black garb, ca. 1900. From: *Jewish Communities in Spanish Morocco* (Beth Hatefusoth, The Nahum Goldman Museum of the Jewish Diaspora: Tel Aviv, 1983), unpaginated and unnumbered plate.



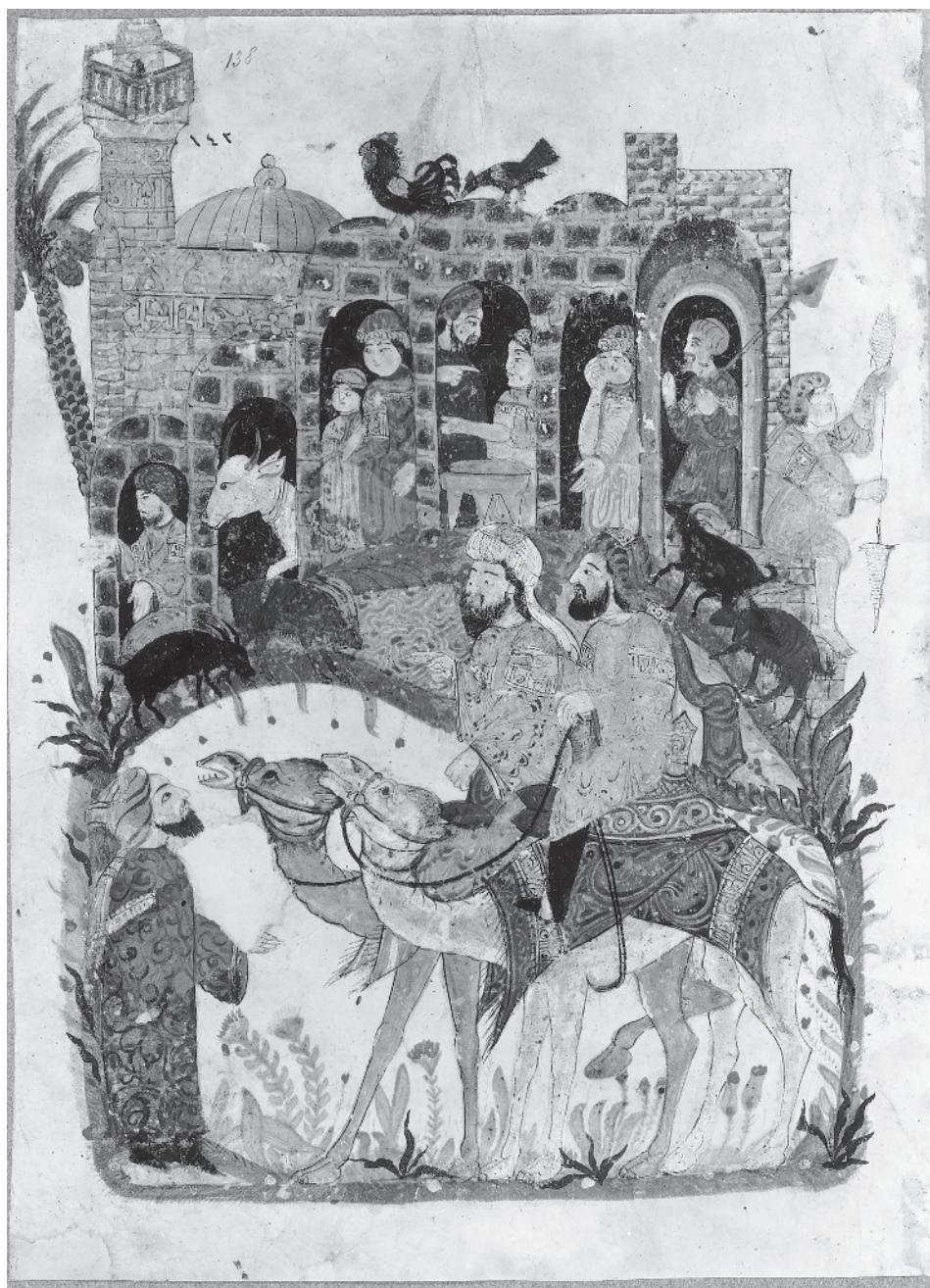
50. The Jewish *amīn* of the jewelers in Mogador, Morocco, 1935. He wears traditional black attire. Over his white *tsāmir*-body shirt is a *farajiyah*, then an unbuttoned *bad'iyyah*-vest, both of which are cinched with a multicolored silk *kirsiyyah*-cummerbund, and finally an open *jukha*-coat — all of which are black. His headcovering is a traditional black *shāshiyah*. (Courtesy of the Israel Museum, Besancenot Collection, No. BB 27.)



51. Linen *thawb* with decorative embroidered collar, vertical bands in front, on hem, and sleeves. (Courtesy of the Coptic Museum, Cairo, No. 2066.)



52. *Tiraz* silk fragment inscribed with name of the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim (1007-1021) and decorated with birds (*mutayyar*). (Courtesy of the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, No. 8264.)



53. Village scene in the *Maqāmāt*, painted by al-Wāṣitī in Baghdad in 1237. All of the women, indoors and out, are unveiled (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 5847, folio 138).

فَوَدِعْتَهُ وَلَنَا لَشْكُو الْفَرَاقَ وَلَذْمَهُ وَأَوْدَ
 لَوْهَلَكَ أَجَنِينَ وَأَمَّهُ الْقَامَةُ إِلَازَهُورُ الْتَّبَرَةُ
 لَجَرْ لَجَرْ بِرْهَمَامْ قَالَ أَرْمَعْتَ اللَّهَ بِرْ مَتْبَرْ بِرْ حَرْبَنْتَ بِالْلَّلِيلِ
 وَالْعَرْبَنْ وَخَلَتْ مِنْ الْجَبَرْ وَالْحَمَزْ فِي نَانَافِي لَعَدَلَدَ الْأَفَبَهُ
 وَأَرْتِيَادَ الْصَّبَبَهُ لَقَسْتَ لَيَارَدَ الْسَّرْوَهُ مِنْ فَاسْكَهُ مَحْتَقَبَنْسَاءَ



54. Courtroom scene from a *Maqāmāt* manuscript from, ca. 1240. One of the two women before the qādī wearing a *bukhnuq*-wimple and an *izār* draped toga-fashion is barefaced. The other holds her *ridā* mantle across her face as a veil (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 3929, folio 134).



14662 Ms. Arabe 5847, fol. 28v

55. Interment scene at the graveyard from the *Maqāmāt* manuscript painted by al-Wāsitī in Baghdad in 1237. All of the female mourners are without veils (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 5847, folio 29 *verso*).



56. Illumination from a *Maqāmāt* manuscript, probably from Syria, ca. 1300, depicting two women accompanying Abū Zayd on the road. Both women wear a white *miqnā'a* covering the entire lower portion of the faces, and both are enveloped in large wraps, a white *izār* for the woman on the left and a colored *ridā'* for the one between the two men (British Museum Add 22114, fol. 135 verso).



57. Engraving of 19th-century black *burqū'*-veils. From: E. W. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (J. M. Dent & Sons: London and Toronto, and E. P. Dutton: New York, 1908), p. 51.



58. Moroccan woman in *jellaba* with a straight rectangular *lithām* fastened under the hood (collection of Y. K. Stillman).



59. Moroccan woman in Tetouan *jellāba* with a triangular bandana-style *lithām* fastened over the hood. (Courtesy of the Moroccan Ministry of Tourism.)



FEMMES DE LATTAKIÉH.

60. Engraving of two women in 19th-century Lattakia, Syria. The standing figure is veiled with a flowered full-face veil and an enveloping dark *abara*, the reclining figure with a white *yashmaq*, and light colored *mulā'a*. From: Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1884), plate facing p. 48.



61. Iraqi *izār* with *bisha/piča* screen veil covering the entire face.
(Courtesy of Israel Museum, Jerusalem.)



62. A Rabati Jewish woman in the 1920s enveloped in a white fringed *izār* which she holds across her face below the eyes with her right hand. Her *jaltīṭa*-skirt with its decorative bands of gold-thread embroidery extends below her wrap. From: J. Goulen, *Les mellahs de Rabat-Salé* (Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner: Paris, 1927), Pl. XIV.



63. Veiled women in both traditional and western attire in Istanbul. From: *L'Illustration* (1907), reprinted in *Hayat* (January 4, 1957).



64. Black 'abāya of tightly woven coarse wool, possibly goat hair, from 1930s Palestine. Gold and silver metallic thread (*qasab*) is used for decoration around the neck opening and along the shoulder seam. (Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Accession No. FA 72.25-32.)



65. Man's *qumbāz* from the Hebron area of brown herringbone twill weave with striped silk facing. It was machine stitched between 1950-1960 and has the modern innovation of pockets on either side. (Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Accession No. FA 72.25-2a.)



66. Moroccan *bulgha* in various colors and leathers. The ones with rounded toe and colored thread embroidery are from the High Atlas. (Collection of Y. K. Stillman. Photographer: Forrest Bacigalupi).



67a-b. Front and back view of a Palestinian *taqṣīra* or *salṭa* of black silk crepe with multicolored cotton thread embroidery from ca. 1940. The floral and avian motifs are foreign. Another innovation is the two large pockets on the inside front. (Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Accession No. FA 72.25-33).



68. A Moroccan boy's striped woolen *jallāba* (Courtesy of the Moroccan Ministry of Tourism).



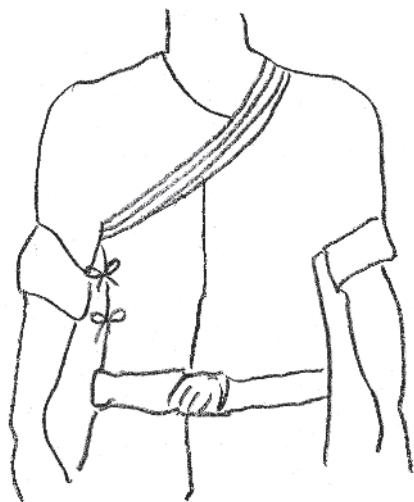
69. Transjordanian villager in the early 20th-century wearing a *thawb*, *kibr*, and *'abā'a*. On his head is a dark *kāfiyya* and thick *'aqāl*. From: Alois Musil, *Arabia Petraea* (Vienna, 1908), fig. 29.



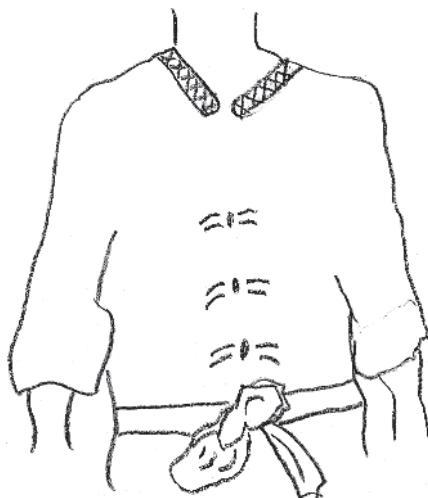
70. Traditional woman's wedding ensemble known as *qmājja kabīra* still worn in Nabeul, Tunisia. From: S. Sethom, "La tunique de mariage en Tunisie," *Cahiers des Arts et Traditions Populaires* 3 (1969), fig. 9.

FIGURES

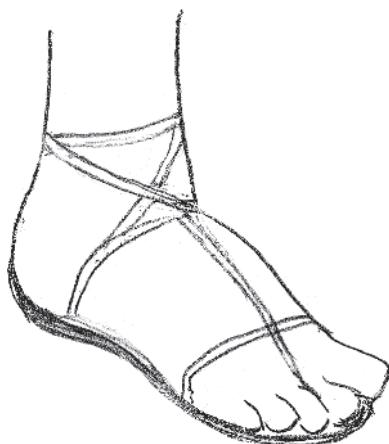
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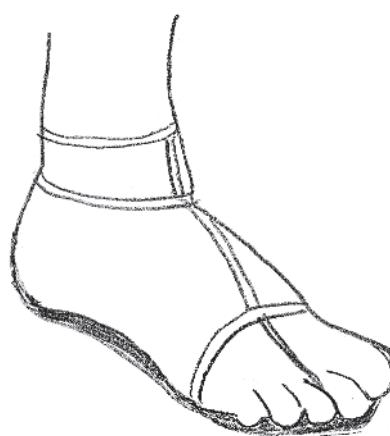
1. *Qabā' tatarī* fastened with bow ties on right side and cinched with a sash. After al-Šūfi, *Kitāb Šūrat al-Kawākib al-Thābita* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 5036, fol. 82 *verso*).



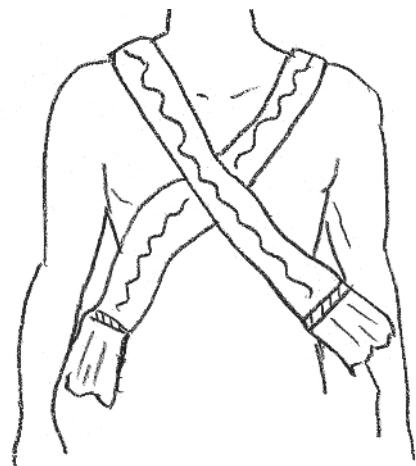
2. *Qabā'* fastened in front with frog buttons and cinched with a sash tied with a large knot. After al-ūfi, *Kitāb ūrat al-Kawākib al-Thābita* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 5036, fol. 43 *verso*).



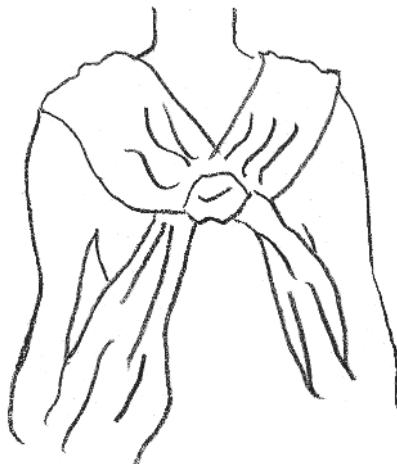
3. Sandal with crisscrossed thongs at ankle. After al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 3929, fol. 76 *verso*).



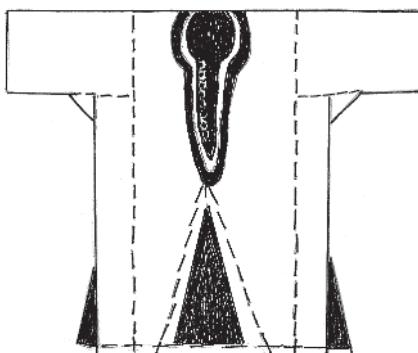
4. Sandal with thongs simply tied around ankle. After al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 3929, fol. 76 *verso*).



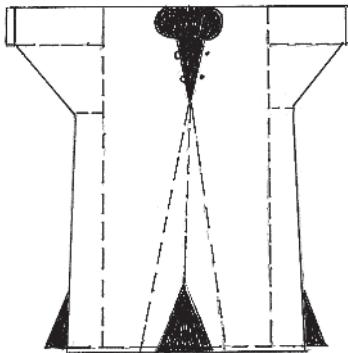
5. Example of a simple scarf laid crisscross at the chest. After al-Harīrī, *Maqāmāt* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arab 5847, tenth maqāma).



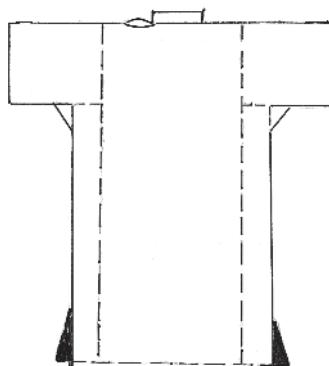
6. Short *Ridā'* with the two ends tied in front with a large knot. After al-Harīrī, *Maqāmāt* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms arabe 3929, fol. 42 verso).



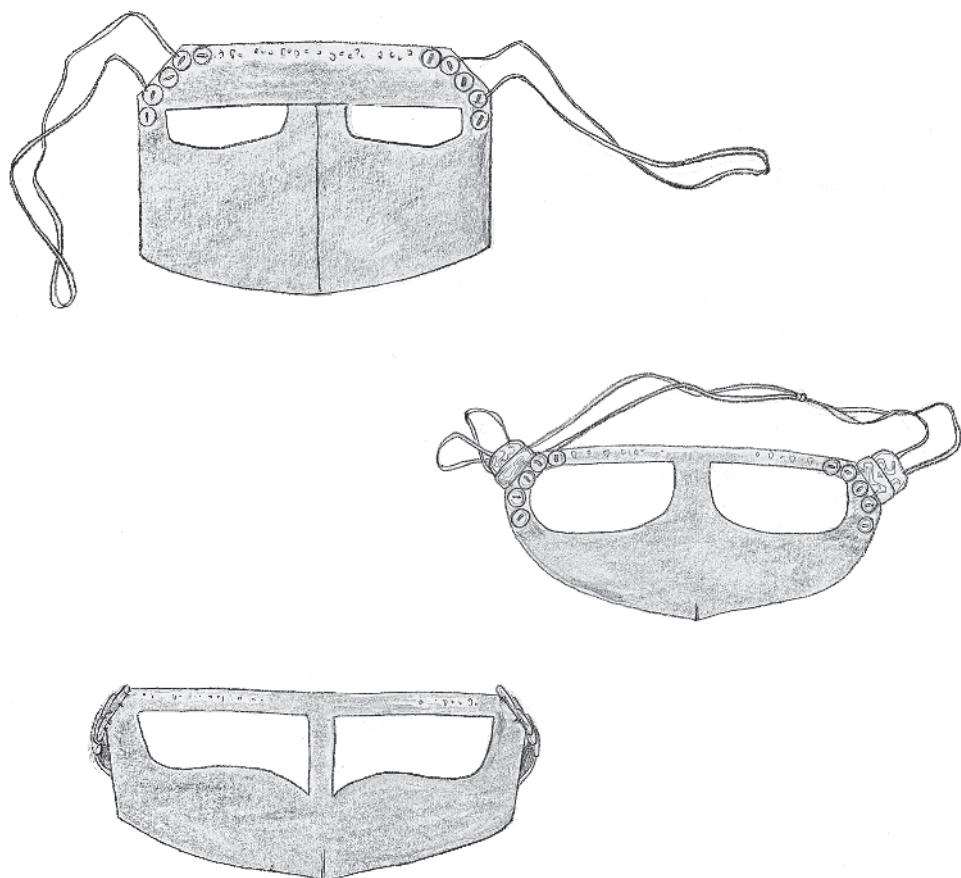
7. Moroccan-style *farajiyah*. After Brunot, "Noms de vêtements masculins à Rabat."



8a. Moroccan-style *fawqiyyah*. After Brunot, "Noms de vêtements masculins à Rabat."



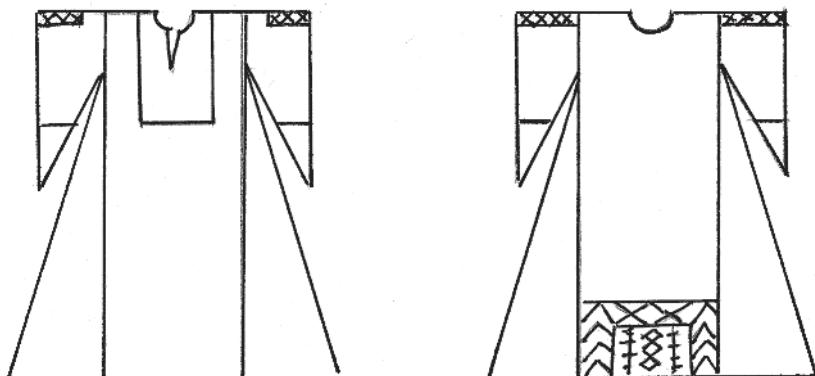
8b. Moroccan-style *tashāmir* (čāmir). After Brunot, "Noms de vêtements masculins à Rabat."



9. Examples of present-day styles of the *niqāb* in the Arabian Gulf states (where it is also called *burqu'*). After, Kanafani, *Aesthetics and Ritual in the United Arab Emirates*.



10. Example of fuller form of a women's *azyā' shar'iyya* outfit as worn in Egypt.
After Rugh, *Reveal and Conceal*.



11. Example of the Palestinian *thawb*. After Stillman, *Palestinian Costume and Jewelry*.